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THE JERUSALEM POST

Vol. LII, No. 15682 Monday, August 13, 1984 • Menachem Av 15, 5744 • Zi-Ki'adah 16, 1404 • IS170

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New MKs to declare allegiance today

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

President Chaim Herzog will open the first session of the 11th Knesset at 4 p.m. today to enable the 120 Knesset members elected on July 23 to make their declarations of allegiance.

The session, expected to last little more than an hour, is not likely to lead to a full resumption of parliamentary activity. This must await the choice of a permanent Speaker and the formation of a new government.

The Alignment faction, which met yesterday, will formally demand that the Knesset resume normal sessions and not go into recess, but this demand will have a follow-up.

Herzog will make some brief remarks and then ask the dozen of the Knesset, Interior Minister Yosef Burg, to take over the chair, according to the Basic Law: Knesset.

Some Alignment MKs grumbled yesterday that Burg's being both a minister and a temporary speaker would be a contravention of the law.

However, a precedent for this exists from the period when the late Mapai Agriculture Minister Kadish Luz fulfilled both functions. Luz simply stayed away from his ministry offices

to avoid possible conflict of interests.

Some Alignment MKs will not only join anti-Kach demonstrators today outside the Knesset building, but will also walk out when Kach leader Meir Kahane makes his declaration of allegiance.

With three or four demonstrations slated for the Knesset environs this afternoon, the Jerusalem police force will turn out in strength.

The police yesterday denied a permit to the Kach movement to demonstrate opposite the Knesset.

Southern District Police commander Avraham Turgeman yesterday approved demonstration permits for three other organizations: the youth movement of the United Kibbutz Movement, the Committee Against Racism, and Na'amat.

The composition of two temporary Knesset committees will be announced formally today. Finance, headed by Aguda MK Avraham Shapira; and Foreign Affairs and Defence, headed by Labour's Haim Bar-Lev.

The convening of the Knesset will be broadcast live on radio and television. The radio broadcast on the 2nd network will start at 3:45 and the telecast at 4.

Police team investigating soldier's murder in Samaria

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — It is believed that Rav Tzvi Moshe Tamam, whose body was found in an olive grove in Samaria on Friday, was "most probably" the victim of a terrorist attack but so far there apparently is no concrete proof of this, *The Jerusalem Post* learned yesterday.

Tamam, 19, of Hatzefet Hasharon, was apparently murdered on Thursday by a single bullet shot in the chest, but Samaria Division Police chief Sgt. Nitzan Gavriel Ashton, denied reports the soldier had been tortured before he was killed.

A resident of Kfar Ya'acob in Samaria found the body among olive trees near Mevo Dotan on Friday morning and informed the police at 10 a.m.

There were no soldiers' papers on the body but some "small items" were found. No weapon was found near him but he may have been unarmed, *The Post* was told. Tamam, an Engineers corps corporal, had been on loan to his former school at Netanim near Netanya where he was

an instructor, so he would not necessarily have had a gun.

Several sources said yesterday it was still not clear to them how Tamam had reached the orchard. He had been on leave and was last seen on Monday with his girl friend in Tiberias. At the end of the week, when he failed to return home, his parents reported his disappearance. He was identified on Saturday.

Ashton has set up a special investigating team headed by Pakad Yankov Cohen, and military sources told *The Post* they will cooperate with the Military Police.

Tamam was buried in the military cemetery in Netanya yesterday afternoon.

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine yesterday announced that it was responsible for Tamam's murder as well as that of a soldier identified as "David Buker."

An Israeli soldier named David Bukra was murdered near Tulkarm half a year ago.

The police team investigating the murder yesterday questioned a number of people.

Mobutu to visit after government formed

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

President Mobutu of Zaire is planning a state visit to Israel but details will be finalized only after a new government takes office here.

Mobutu's visit would be in return for President Chaim Herzog's visit to his country last winter.

The director-general of the Foreign Ministry, David Kimche, was in

Kinshasa at the end of last week to discuss the visit and other aspects of Israel-Zaire relations.

Officials in Jerusalem said Kimche had visited other African countries too. But the director-general, who returned home last night, would say only that he had been "on a routine mission."

Two IDF soldiers hurt in Lebanon attacks

By MENACHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — Two Israeli soldiers were wounded yesterday in South Lebanon when a roadside bomb exploded as their patrol passed by on a road east of Tyre.

A squad of terrorists hiding in ambush on a hilltop some 200 metres from the road detonated the bomb by remote control, when the motorized patrol drove by at 7 a.m. The ambushers activated the electric detonator and at the same time fired

automatic weapons at the patrol.

One man on the patrol was moderately hurt and the other lightly. The patrol returned the fire, but the attackers escaped.

In Tyre itself there were two attacks yesterday. Several mortar rounds landed near an Israel Defence Forces position, fired from a distance of several hundred metres. Later in the day a South Lebanese Army position was fired upon from a speeding car, which escaped. There were no casualties in either incident.

NRP intimidation kept Emunah out of election

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Emunah, the national religious women's organization, received threats from National Religious Party men in various branches in a pressure campaign to cancel its plan to run for the 11th Knesset in a separate list.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday, former Knesset Member Sara Stern-Katan revealed that a number of NRP men said they would see to it that Emunah day-care centres were deprived of needed services and support if the women broke off from the NRP.

Stern-Katan, a leader of Emunah, said she also received "anonymous phone calls at midnight" from men claiming to represent the NRP, who said Emunah would be responsible for a divided movement if the women broke away.

The Emunah executive decided shortly before the deadline for presenting their list that they would not run separately for the Knesset. They also decided that the women's organization, which is affiliated in Israel to the NRP, would not campaign as a group for the NRP. Stern-Katan was offered eighth place on the NRP list after the women pressed for fair representation. Only four NRP candidates were elected.

Stern-Katan told *The Post* that she was not happy with the decision not to run on a separate list, but "we had no choice." In addition to fears that Emunah would be responsible for a further deterioration of the NRP, they also realized that they did not have the money to finance a TV and radio propaganda campaign. "We would never consider doing it at the



Carl Lewis wears his fourth gold medal of the Olympic Games, won in the 4 x 100 relay, as he is carried shoulder high by his U.S. team mates. They set the only athletics world record achieved in the games. Olympic reports on Page 3. (UPI telephoto)

Ne'eman to push for more settlements soon

Jerusalem Post Staff

Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman, who heads the joint Ministerial-World Zionist Organization Settlement Committee, said after the committee met yesterday that he hopes to convene the body again in a fortnight to decide on the establishment of up to five more settlements in Judea and Samaria.

He also maintained he would not be deflected in his efforts by the cabinet's transitional status.

Ne'eman told reporters he had hoped to present plans for one or

two more settlements at yesterday's meeting in Jerusalem, but legal matters and examinations of the possibility of establishing those settlements had not been completed.

Thus the committee spent most of its time listening to a master plan for the Etzion Bloc, and hearing reports on several settlements, including Abir Ya'acov and Neot Adamim, whose residents are living in tents — the first south of Ramallah and the other east of Jerusalem.

Ne'eman also criticized reports that the committee had decided to

(Continued on Back Page)

Northern settlement dedicated despite lack of aid

The communal settlement of Tomrat in the Jezreel Valley was dedicated yesterday after eight years of preparations.

The settlers, who have invested much of their own money and efforts in the settlement, have received almost none of the government aid promised them. There is no suitable access road to Tomrat, and the Egged bus cooperative has therefore refused to open a line to the settlement. The 70 families already living

at the site share two telephones. Water and sewage arrangements have not yet been made.

The settlement's school has not yet been built, and classes will be held this school year in temporary structures.

Aharon Binyamini, an organizer of yesterday's dedication ceremony, said 220 families plan to live in Tomrat. The cornerstone of the settlement's central public building was laid yesterday. (Tum)

Flagship of U.S. Mid-East force en route for Red Sea

VICTORIA, Seychelles (AP). — The USS La Salle, flagship of the U.S. Middle East task force commander, suddenly cut short a three-day shore leave at this Indian Ocean destination without explanation yesterday.

U.S. Ambassador David Fischer declined to say where the warship was headed. There was speculation that it might be on its way to the Red Sea to oversee minesweeping operations following mysterious underwater explosions that have damaged at least 13 ships since July 9. British officials put the toll near 20.

The speculation appeared strengthened by reports from Manama, Bahrain, that the ruler, Sheikh Isa bin Salman al-Khalifa, yesterday received the commander of the task force, Rear-Admiral John Addams.

The Gulf news agency, which reported the meeting, gave no details, and the U.S. embassy in Manama had no comment to make.

The squadron numbers from four to six warships at various times, and rotates between the Gulf region,

Mombasa and Karachi. The force has rights to dock in Bahrain for supply facilities and repair work.

Sheik Isa, meanwhile, was also reported to have received a message from President Francois Mitterrand of France on Saturday. The contents of the message were not disclosed. France, along with Britain and Holland, has agreed to participate in Red Sea minesweeping operations.

Athens newspapers said yesterday that Greece had also agreed in principle to send two minesweepers to the Red Sea after a request from Cairo.

The U.S. navy ship Shreveport, an amphibious transport vessel, left Spain early Friday with four mine-hunting Sea Stallion helicopters aboard, and according to a U.S. Defence department spokesman, was scheduled to enter the Gulf of Suez in mid-week.

Egypt has accused Iran and Libya of laying the mines. Both have denied the charge.

No narrowing of gaps in national unity talks

By DAVID LANDAU
Jerusalem Post Staff

The twin issues of settlement in Judea and Samaria and negotiation with Jordan continue to hamper progress between Labour and the Likud on a government of national unity.

After a fourth round of talks between leaders of the two blocs last night in Jerusalem, agreement was announced on the creation of two "working groups," one on foreign and defence policy and the other on economic and social policy. But there was no sign of agreement, or even a narrowing of the gaps, on the two key issues of foreign policy.

"They're proposing a 100 per cent Likud line," one Labour participant charged.

And on the Likud side a leading figure accused Labour of "inconsistency" in advocating resumed autonomy talks with Egypt and at the same time peace talks "without preconditions" with Jordan. The Likud's position continues to be that Israel can enter into negotiations with Jordan only on the basis of Camp David — and, therefore, territorial talks are ruled out at this stage.

The Likud figure insisted that this is an immutable position of principle for his side. He indicated, though, that the Likud might be prepared to review and perhaps soften its autonomy proposals as its "concession" to Labour.

Likud-Liberal Minister of Energy Yitzhak Moda'i was the only member of the Likud team who seemed prepared for greater flexibility: he suggested that government policy stipulate "negotiation" with Jordan, without specifying on what terms the negotiations were proposed.

But Moda'i received no support at all for this — neither from the Likud-Herut ministers nor from his Likud-Liberal colleague, Moshe Nissim.

On settlements, the Labour leaders found the Likud side dauntingly hardline and unanimous: the settlements must continue to go up all over the administered territories.

Despite the absence of substantive progress, however, several participants spoke once again of the cordial atmosphere and of the healthiness of such frank and free-wheeling discussions between the Likud and Labour after the mutual mauling of the election campaign.

Some participants continue to be optimistic, moreover, as to the eventual success of the talks. A senior Likud minister told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that, in his view, Labour could not form a narrow government under its leadership, and the Likud would probably be unable to do so, too. Even if the Likud succeeded, this key minister continued, the government thus formed would be inherently weak and inevitably short-lived, and would be politically incapable of coping with the economic challenges facing the country.

For this reason, the minister predicted the eventual success of the unity talks — and he was confident that his assessment was shared by the majority of his own party and of Labour.

A Labour optimist suggested that a further private meeting between Yitzhak Shamir and Shimon Peres, tentatively set for later this week, might prove much more productive than the "seminar sessions" held so far. This Labour source felt the policy issues could fall into place once the issue of the premiership itself was resolved.

Labour's position is that the premiership is not an issue, since Labour is the larger faction and the president invested Peres with the task of forming a government. A Labour official maintained last night that this was, in effect, acknowledged by all participants at the unity talks.

However, there has been no such indication from the Likud side.

Clearly emerging as a key figure in the unity bid is Deputy Premier David Levy (Likud-Herut), who is to be a member of both "working groups." The Likud's foreign-policy team is Levy. Defence Minister Moshe Arens, Minister without

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Knesset panel again rejects budget

By AVI TEMKIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The country's economy may drift into chaos if the Knesset Finance Committee continues to hold up adjustment of state budget to current prices. Finance Ministry officials said yesterday.

The ministry failed to get the IS 6,054 billion budget approved by the committee yesterday, after the opposition outnumbered the coalition and blocked the move.

According to the Budget Law the Treasury must adjust the budget every three months to current level of inflation. This was the first time that the Treasury had presented such an adjustment of the budget during the current fiscal year.

Legally, the Finance Committee of the 10th Knesset continues to serve until the new Knesset is convened. This means that the budget could still be approved today by the old committee if it meets by 4 o'clock

when the 11th Knesset convenes for the first time.

But if the adjustment is not approved, it will mean that the budget remains at the April-June level, which is much lower in real terms than the approved budget.

According to the Alignment faction, there was no reason to approve the adjustment since they had opposed the original budget submitted by the Treasury.

"The document that the government wants us to approve contains all the priorities we oppose and we

should not be expected to vote for such a budget," Alignment-Labour Knesset Member Haim Ramon said after the meeting.

The committee members were told yesterday by some of the treasury representatives about the gloomy prospects for tax collection in the coming months. According to forecasts prepared by the State Revenue Administration, income-tax collection will be close to collapse during the coming months. But this will be partly offset by an increase in the collection of Value Added Tax.

IDF denies crash of drone near Tripoli

Post Defence Correspondent

The Israel Defence Forces spokesman last night denied a foreign news agency report that a pilotless Israeli aircraft had crashed yesterday behind Syrian lines in a mountain range southeast of the northern Lebanese

city of Tripoli.

Reuters had reported that Syrian troops had been flown by helicopter to the crash site, 30 kilometres southeast of Tripoli, and had retrieved electronic equipment and a parachute.

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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	46	16-28	29
Golan	36	15-22	32
Nahariya	39	20-30	30
Safed	39	20-30	30
Haifa Port	64	24-30	30
Tiberias	37	22-36	36
Nazareth	36	20-30	30
Alula	45	20-31	31
Shomron	45	20-31	31
Tel Aviv	71	22-30	30
B-G Airport	56	22-31	31
Jencho	34	21-37	37
Gaza	76	20-38	38
Beerseba	44	20-34	34
Eilat	10	22-39	39

All floors of Tiberias
city hall vandalized

TIBERIAS (Itim). - The police yesterday began investigating the vandalism of City Hall here on Saturday night.

Windows and doors were broken, paint was splattered over floors and walls, and damage was done to equipment valued at millions of shekels on all four floors of the building.

The damage was discovered by a cleaning woman yesterday morning. Tiberias mayor Yigal Bibi said the act would not deter the municipality from maintaining law and order. He hinted that the crime was committed over the municipality's refusal to issue vending licenses.

Bibi also said that the city recently cut off water supplies to clients who had not paid their bills.

NY street corner
named for Sakharov

NEW YORK (AP). - Mayor Edward Koch last week renamed a street corner near the Soviet mission to the UN in honor of Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Yelena Bonner.

He installed a street sign reading "Sakharov-Bonner Corner" at 67th Street and Third Avenue, less than a block from the mission.

The Soviet scientist and his wife have been in internal exile in the city of Gorky. At Koch's request, the city council approved the designation of the intersection's southwest corner in the couple's honor.

HOME AND WORLD NEWS

Kessar wants to talk
to Treasury about jobs

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. - Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar will head a labour federation delegation to meet with Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad on the country's deteriorating employment situation. No date has been set for the meeting, but Histadrut sources said they would like it to take place this week.

Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad welcomed the Histadrut initiative and announced that he would shortly invite its central committee for a discussion of unemployment and other economic issues. Kol Yisrael reported last night.

The decision to seek a meeting with Cohen-Orgad was taken at an emergency meeting of the Histadrut central committee yesterday. Kessar told the committee members that the Histadrut would not countenance an attempt to heal the economy by creating unemployment.

"To solve economic problems through inflation is neither moral

nor correct economics," Kessar said, dismissing the "advice of experts" who advised such a step.

Among the demands likely to be raised by the Histadrut in a meeting with the Treasury is greater control over "foreign labour" and over employers who do not sign work contracts with their workers.

Central committee members Gideon Ben-Yisrael said that the number of people seeking work stood at 37,589 in July, 23.2 per cent more than in June. Unemployment in development towns accounts for some 35 per cent of the country's total unemployment, despite the fact that less than 10 per cent of the population lives in development towns, he said.

Ben-Yisrael, who is the Histadrut's representative on the joint government-Histadrut-employers committee on employment, added that the government has failed to keep its commitment to work for full employment.

Kollek's Tisha Be'Av meal
may affect coalition talks

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek said yesterday he is ready to pay a fine for what he admits was a "stupid mistake" - eating at a Jerusalem restaurant on Tisha Be'Av. No fine is likely, but the affair has possible implications for the Alignment's coalition talks.

In several public statements yesterday, the mayor admitted that his dinner at Kari's restaurant in downtown Jerusalem was "insensitive" to the religious community.

He said that he would be ready to pay a fine for breaking the law, but also stated that he had thought the municipal law against the opening of restaurants on the fast day applied only to places where entertainment and music are offered along with the menu.

Kollek said that he had gone to dinner with a visiting foreign correspondent who had only that night last week to meet with the mayor. Kollek also reportedly told associates that he believes that restaurants should be permitted to remain open Tisha Be'Av. "for the sake of the many tourists in town during the season."

A police source in Jerusalem said

it was unlikely that any fine would be imposed in the case. The source added that the restaurant owner, and not Kollek, had broken the law. But Kollek said he had asked the restaurant to remain open specially for him.

The matter meanwhile raised some problems for the mayor with regard to his coalition at City Hall. After last winter's municipal elections, the mayor pushed Agudat Yisrael into opposition and drew the Sephardi Tora Observers in. But the latter, known as Shas, has become a less sympathetic coalition partner for Kollek than he had hoped, and he is now considering pushing Shas out and drawing the Aguda in.

This plan has implications on the national scene, since the Aguda may consider joining Kollek's Labour Party in a government coalition, while Shas has unequivocally announced it will have nothing to do with a Labour government.

Yet it is the Aguda, led by Knesset Member Menahem Porush and Porush's son Meir, the municipal councillor, who have led the attacks against Kollek for the Tisha Be'Av incident. The Shas representatives have yet to say anything in public about the affair.

Grenades, shots in 'family-honour' row

By MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
TIBERIAS. - A man and a woman were wounded when hand grenades were thrown and shots fired in a family dispute yesterday in the Lower Galilee village of Maghar.

There have been suspicions in the village for some time that a Border Policeman's widow was "dishonouring" her husband. The Border Policeman, Rav Samal Rishon Oga Hamidi, died in the Tyre disaster.

Yesterday morning, as the widow left her house, two hand grenades

were tossed at her. She suffered moderate wounds and a bystander was lightly wounded. Both were taken to Poriya Hospital near Tiberias.

One of Hamidi's sons, a tracker in the Border Police, took his service rifle and fired at the house of his cousin, whom he suspected of attacking his mother. No one was hurt by the shots.

Police units arrived at the village and arrested 10 members of the family for questioning.

Beduin trace stolen animals to old foes

Jerusalem Post Reporter
BEERSHEBA. - Beduin from the Arad-Tel Mahata area retrieved sheep and goats allegedly stolen from them by residents of Yatta village south of Hebron by threatening a reprise of a battle in 1905 when the Beduin inflicted a severe defeat on the villagers.

The Abu-Hamid Beduin said yesterday they had repeatedly complained in vain to the police about their disappearing flocks. They then decided to go after the rustlers themselves, and when 35 animals were stolen last Thursday, the Beduin followed tracks to Yatta.

The Beduin said they entered the village and demanded their animals back, reminding the villagers of the Beduin victory over the village in the

battle 79 years before.

The villagers, according to the Beduin, then surreptitiously began releasing the sheep and goats in the streets of the village from all sides. The Beduin gathered up their animals and returned to their encampments.

Dulzin urges leaders to
press Kremlin on Jews

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Jewish Agency Executive chairman Arye Dulzin yesterday called on world leaders to urge the Kremlin to permit Soviet Jews to emigrate.

Speaking at the Zionist Executive meeting yesterday, Dulzin sent greetings to Soviet Jews fighting for their right to settle in Israel.



Lesotho Foreign Minister E.R. Sekhonyana yesterday calls on Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.
(Ze'ev Ackerman, Israel Sun)

Two killed, 17 hurt on roads

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. - Two persons were killed and 17 injured, nine of them seriously, in seven road accidents yesterday.

In the first of two pedestrian fatalities yesterday, an elderly woman was hit by a car and killed as she was walking by the side of the Haifa-Tel Aviv coastal road near Elijah's Cave. The police were trying to identify the woman.

The police spokesman said the woman, who was walking toward Haifa, was struck from behind by a car driven by a Haifa resident, 52, who was held for questioning.

In the second pedestrian fatality, Yosef Shefer, 78, of Tiberias, died on the way to the hospital after being struck by a car on the Beit Lid road near Kfar Yona.

Five persons were injured, two of them seriously, in a head-on collision between two cars near Taba. Four of the injured were members of a family returning in a military car from a vacation in Taba, which apparently swerved from its lane on a sharp curve into the path of the other car.

Management stymies Ben-Gurion work sanction

Post Aviation Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Ben-Gurion Airport authorities yesterday foiled the staff committee's plan to disrupt work between noon and 4 p.m.

Shortly before their shop meeting was scheduled, management delivered some 150 back-to-work orders to key personnel. Flights continued normally.

Management and staff have been fighting for some time over a new wage agreement. According to some reports, the workers have been pressing for fights abroad and a car allowance, even for those who have no car. The staff committee said it was merely resisting management's demand for the right to arrange shifts and assign workers to jobs.

UNITY TALKS

(Continued from Page One)

Portfolio Ariel Sharon and Justice Minister Moshe Nissim; and its economic team is Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad, Levy and Moda'i. Labour is to name its teams this morning and the groups may get down to work later in the day.

There are persistent suspicions in both camps that Levy's ardour for a unity government is considerably cooler than both Shamir's and Arens's.

Meanwhile, Yitzhak Rabin's advocacy of a unity government of limited duration seems to be winning support in both major parties. Rabin suggested at the weekend that the unity government be set up for two years and focus mainly on the economy and Lebanon.

This would mean that the controversial issues of policy - such as settlements and peace talks - would somehow be "put on hold" for the term of the unity government, without either side's position being prejudiced by the suspension.

If the only alternative is continued deadlock and early elections, Rabin's idea is likely to attract more and more supporters.

Alignment leader Shimon Peres said yesterday that the Likud demand to discuss who should be prime minister in a national unity government, coupled with an insistence that that government implement Likud policy unchanged and a refusal to compromise with the Alignment, is tantamount to a distortion of the results of the election.

Briefing the Alignment Knesset faction on the coalition talks and the arrangements for today's Knesset session, Peres said he hoped he could give his colleagues a clear factual run-down of the attitude of all the parties towards the coalition possibilities by the middle of next week. This was still impossible to give, he said, since the ideological problems involved in coalition-making as well as the distribution of power in cabinet portfolios is an extremely time-consuming process.

"Our party will gain no political advantage if the country faces economic disaster," Peres said. "Our land and our economy belong to all Israelis and we must see they come to no harm. It is our duty to work for a national unity government which can unite the nation and bring stability back to the economy."

Peres said further that the Alignment's allies, Shinui and the Citizens' Rights Movement, agree that the only way to get any religious parties into a coalition is by promising that the status quo on religious affairs will remain unchanged.

CRM secretary Dedi Zucker proposed at yesterday's meeting of the movement's secretariat that the CRM and Shinui join the Alignment instead of Mapam if Mapam leaves the Alignment. This would enable the Alignment to remain the largest faction in the Knesset.

The proposal was removed from the agenda, with Zucker the only one voting in favour and all other members of the secretariat voting against. The secretariat then approved a motion stating that if a national unity government headed by the Alignment is formed, the CRM will not act as an opposition "for the mere sake of opposition" but will operate as an independent faction, voting on and responding to every issue on its own merits.

Sri Lanka troops
go on rampage

JAFFNA, Sri Lanka (AP). - Sri Lankan army troops went on a rampage in the northwestern coastal town of Mannar yesterday, setting fire to shops and homes of the Tamil minority in apparent reprisal against a guerrilla bomb attack on a military convoy, official sources said.

Thomas Sundarayan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Mannar, said troops were rampaging through the streets. "It is like an army of invasion flattening everything in its path," he told the Associated Press by telephone.

Because of strict news censorship, reports from Mannar were sketchy. The Tamil United Liberation Front, the main party of the 2.7 million minority community, said the troops set fire to the main city bazaar and the nearby village of Adamban. About 5,000 people had fled their homes, the group said. (Earlier report - Page 5)

More charter lines
to stop flying here

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Aviation Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Three European charter carriers will soon stop flying here, following the example of the British Monarch line.

The Jerusalem Post has reliably learned that a deal with a fourth company will soon be cancelled. But El Al is picking up at least some of the traffic.

The charter operators' move follows the imposition of government restrictions on their flights beginning August 1. The restrictions apply to flights to Ben-Gurion Airport, but Menahem Laufer, who represents several charter operators here, told The Post that two companies - Martin Air and Aero Lloyd - have also decided to drop plans to fly to Eilat, maintaining that the government regulations were confusing.

Observers speculated that a reduction in the number of foreign charter companies flying here could benefit Israeli charter companies - Maof, Arkia and El Al's subsidiary Sun d'Or. Some passengers will fly

on scheduled airlines, but four operators are also likely to advise clients to go elsewhere for their holidays.

The new regulations stipulate that charter companies flying between Ben-Gurion Airport and a city within 150 kilometres of an airport served by a scheduled carrier may carry only passengers beginning their tour abroad or only ones beginning here - but may not mix the two. Since a charter must be 85 to 90 per cent full to be profitable, the new regulation increases the carriers' risks.

The government left a loophole - the restrictions do not apply if 20 per cent of the passengers depart from Jerusalem's Atarot airport. But operating out of Jerusalem has been complicated and costly.

In the wake of the new regulations, Martin Air, Aero Lloyd, British Island Airways and Dan Air will curtail or discontinue flights to here. The regulations are designed to help El Al by redirecting passengers to the national carrier.

Hungarian Jewish dissidents speak out

VIENNA (AP). - Hungary's Jewish dissidents have published an open letter questioning the government's right to their loyalty, criticizing Soviet-backed "anti-Zionism" and demanding diplomatic ties with Israel, a spokesman for Vienna's Jewish community said yesterday.

In a communique, Vienna's Jewish community, Vienna's main Jewish organization, cited from a letter it said appeared in a recent edition of the Hungarian underground magazine *Hirondodo* (News Announcer).

The communique said the letter was written by members of Shalom, a group described as "independent... peace fighters of the Hungarian Jews."

"Hungary's Jewry is not bound to loyalty to the... government of the day, but only the sovereign Hunga-

rian state and nation," said the communique, paraphrasing the letter.

The letter is directly quoted as saying: "Israel is blood of our blood," and "the loyalty to the Hungarian homeland is compatible with the solidarity to Israel."

Of the approximately 80,000 practicing Jews in Hungary, about 60,000 live in Budapest. Although Hungary joined most of the Soviet bloc in breaking diplomatic ties to Israel following the 1967 Six Day War, Hungarian Jews enjoy relative freedom of worship.

The letter criticized what it called the support of "anti-Zionism" in the Soviet Union and some unnamed third world countries, according to the communique. It called for resumed diplomatic ties and "free tourist traffic to and from Israel," the communique said.

Egypt denies building new fence at Taba

CAIRO (AP). - Egyptian border guards have pulled back their positions at the disputed border area of Taba, near Eilat, because of bathing tourists on the Israeli side, but the border line remains unchanged, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman was responding to questions about a recent report in

Al-Wafd, organ of the right-of-centre opposition party the New Wafd, that a new border line at Taba was now formed because of the pull-back. The paper said the guards were distracted by nudist bathers, as reported in Friday's *Jerusalem Post*.

The foreign ministry spokesman emphatically denied the existence of a new fence.

To Dalia Sharon, Mr. Morris Nachtmann and family

We share your grief at the untimely death
of your mother and sister

TOVA SHARON

Tower Air - Israel
Management and Staff

To Dalia Sharon and Morris Nachtmann

We mourn with you the death of your
mother and sister

TOVA

Uzi Yalon
and staff of Tower Air, Jerusalem

HALLA STRENGER

née Rachmilevich
is no longer with us

The service will be held at 3 Dafna Street, Tel Aviv today, Monday,
August 13, 1984 at 11.15 a.m. and the funeral at Kibbutz
Hagoshirim at 4 p.m.

The bereaved family

We mourn the loss of our beloved mother, grandmother
and great-grandmother

GERTRUDE CLARA FELDSTEIN

הרבנית גרטרוד קלרה פלדשטיין

The bereaved children:
Lorel and Judd Shes
Donald Lee and Shirley Feldstein
and their dear grandchildren
and great-grandchildren

The funeral will take place on 15 Av 5744 (August 13, 1984)
at Herzliya Cemetery, 2.30 p.m. Shiva at 31A Hatzloma, Herzliya Pituach.

To Teri Ben-Eli

Our sincerest condolences on the death of your

Mother

IBM Israel

August 13, 1984

And Behold the Bones Came Together

To my elected representative
for whom I cast my ballot!

Remember, you were not the creator of Zionism.

You are dutybound to learn it, and not fabricate something new out of your whims or as a result of foreign influences. Realize the fateful crossroads at which we stand: Destruction or peace; life or death. And thou shalt choose life. Today you will be swearing allegiance as a member of Israel's eleventh Knesset.

Keep in mind this oath of mine:

We have taken a solemn oath, I and my brethren, people of deeds, an oath which goes as follows: No longer will the fathers eat sour grapes and their sons' teeth be set on edge. We shall bring this people to cleanse itself of the stains of the past, to clothe itself in new raiment and to stand prepared. We shall support you and every other public representative, so that they represent us honourably. Honour is heart. Learn this.

We shall din this lesson endlessly into your ears, and the ears of all who would listen: the lesson of the prime necessity to rid ourselves of even the faintest blemish of violence, contention, quarrel, of embarrassing our fellow man and holding him in contempt. Let us raise the banner of what fate has decreed for us at this hour - a fundamental, profound reconciliation.

Above all else, let us hearken to our inner selves, to our brothers and to our opponents. May we, together with all the members of the eleventh Knesset, rise to the solemn heights of creativity and construction, cooperation and unity of action, based on reconciliation.

And together with you we will propel this nation of ours on the road to maturity, a maturity which has begun to blossom these past ten days, and we shall remove it from the dungeon of its isolationism and factionalism toward the brighter future in store.

Console ye my people and they will blossom once more.

Yosef Haivri
and the People of Deeds

HOME NEWS

Price fight may yield import of cooking oil

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

For the first time in many years, the Ministry of Industry and Trade has issued licenses for the import of soybean oil and meal, a ministry source confirmed to *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

The action is the latest round in an economic battle between the country's manufacturers of edible oil and the ministry.

Last month the ministry's trade-restrictions (monopolies) unit brought suit against five major oil producers, alleging they had colluded to disrupt normal deliveries in an attempt to reduce distributors' payment periods.

Last week the companies announced they "will no longer be responsible" for the supply of soybean oil, the major edible oil sold in this country, and soybean meal - a livestock high-protein feed - "unless the government agrees to restore our profitability within a week."

A ministry survey of world market prices for soybeans shows that importing soybean oil and meal would be cheaper than continuing to produce them here.

The ministry source said that Minister Gideon Patai's decision to issue the import licenses was "not part of a vendetta against the producers but merely a precautionary step to ensure normal supplies of essential cooking oil and livestock feed to the retail market."

According to the ministry, the government subsidy for soybean oil is now 100 per cent, and the soybean processing subsidy bill for last month reached \$1.1 billion.

"We have asked an outside source to examine the latest balance sheets of the oil producers," the source said. "They maintained their profitability rates last year, and more. No so-called erosion in the value of our subsidies was detected. After all, our subsidies are linked to the Consumer Price Index," said the source.

Alleged murderer remanded in custody

TEL AVIV (Itim) - The suspected murderer of a 60-year-old Tel Aviv woman during a robbery was ordered detained until the end of his trial by the Tel Aviv District Court yesterday.

According to the charge sheet, David Amar, 34, of Tel Aviv, and an accomplice, Yehzekel Shamai, broke into a flat owned by Meir and Simi Peretz on the morning of October 14, 1980, assaulted Mrs. Peretz, gagged and bound her and covered her with mattresses while she lay on the floor. As the woman suffocated to death, the two suspects allegedly rounded up jewelry and cash and left the flat.

Three and a half years later, the police arrested Amar on the basis of testimony by an informant, who turned state's witness.

The police also arrested Shamai as Amar's alleged accomplice, but after confessing, Shamai was found dead in his cell. The police maintained that Shamai committed suicide. But the family argued that Shamai was murdered by his cell-mates.

Amar's lawyer, Zvi Lidsky, argued that Shamai's confession, which named Amar as his accomplice, was no longer acceptable because of the man's suicide, and the court should release Amar on bail.

Judge Arye Even-Ari, however, said that the police have prima facie evidence linking Amar to the crime.

The matter of whether Shamai committed suicide or was murdered, and whether his confession was acceptable in court, would have to be dealt with separately, Even-Ari said.

U.S. Emunah holding 36th convention

Jerusalem Post Reporter

More than 100 members of Emunah Women of America have arrived for their organization's 36th birthday convention in the Jerusalem Lorraine Hotel. The opening sessions was addressed last night by Defense Minister Moshe Arens.

The five-day convention will include the dedication of American Emunah's day-care centre in Efrata, in the Etzion Bloc, the centre has been operating for over a year, its opening coinciding with the move of the first group of young families to Efrata. It will be dedicated by

Michael and Sari Berger, former New Yorkers living in Jerusalem, in memory of their son Josi.

The convention delegates will also visit their organization's community college in Jerusalem's Bak' quarter, which will soon open a new department of computer science and expand its department of graphic art to include photography. It also has departments teaching dental technology and child care.

Emunah Women of America, with 25,000 members, is the largest of Emunah's 17 overseas branches. World Emunah has 120,000 members.

Thousands of pilgrims come to Elijah's cave

HAIFA - Thousands of Jews from all over the country yesterday made the annual pilgrimage to "Elijah's Cave" here.

The visitors, mainly Jews of Oriental origin, come to the site on the day after the "Shabbat of Consolation," when the portion from Isaiah (40:1) "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people..." is read, following the Tisha Be'Av mourning for the destruction of the two Temples.

A visit to the cave on this day is

considered to bring good fortune, and many hope that it will cure their illnesses and help fulfil their wishes concerning marriage partners, livelihoods, and other matters.

The visitors themselves gave different reasons for making the pilgrimage on this day. Some said it was to commemorate the Prophet Elijah's birthday, while others said the prophet had been seen praying at the site on the day after the Shabbat of Consolation.

Jewish pupils to have course on Israeli Arabs

Jerusalem Post Staff

Jewish high school pupils are to take an experimental course on the Arabs in Israel, the Education Ministry has announced. The course is part of the ministry's efforts to educate towards Jewish-Arab co-existence.

Pupils will study developments within the Arab community since the establishment of the state, with special attention focused on the Arabs as a minority in a Jewish state and their identity as Arabs and Israelis.

A similar programme is also to be given in junior high schools under the title "Neighbourhood."

Jobless Timna workers begin hunger strike

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV - Some 20 laid-off workers from the idle Timna copper works in Eilat began a hunger strike outside Eilat's city hall yesterday protesting against the municipality's failure to find them new jobs.

The workers said they had been promised new jobs when the copper works closed four months ago, but have since received only unemployment compensation.

Eilat Mayor Rafi Hochman blamed the workers' plight on the Defence Ministry, which, he said, had not fulfilled its pledge to provide alternative work at acceptable salaries for the workers.

Fish breeders fight U.S. mullet imports

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA - The Fish Breeders Union yesterday decided to fight Industry and Trade Ministry plans to permit the import of 200 tons of grey mullet from the U.S. The government is to allocate about \$200,000 for the import.

Union secretary Amnon Levin told *The Jerusalem Post* that local breeders can meet all demand for this fish in the country. "Our pond-bred mullet is of the highest quality, whereas the intended imports are sold at a cut price of about 80 cents per kilogram in the U.S. This is because the Americans shun the fish, which are generally caught in polluted rivers, he said.

Levin stressed that after a seasonal shortage of mullet during the past few weeks, which brought the price up to about \$1,000 per kilogram, supply now exceeds the demand of between 10 and 15 tons per week by nearly five-fold. The price has returned to the norm of about \$1750 per kg.

The union objects to the import, because there is no need for it, it would compete with local produce and would give a bad name to mullet, adversely affecting local producers in future. The 200 tons would deprive them of over four months of the market, he said.

Artists protest for jailed Gaza painter

About 30 Israeli painters and sculptors, members of the Israel Artists Association, yesterday protested against the imprisonment of a Gaza District artist by demonstrating at his home in Jabalya refugee camp in the area.

The Israeli artists, headed by association chairwoman Hedva Shemesh, started out from Artists House in Jerusalem carrying a placard saying: "A painter in prison - Kahane in the Knesset."

The Gaza painter, Fathi Raban, 37, was imprisoned for six months and fined \$30,000 for exhibiting paintings done in the PLO flag colours, green, black and red.

The artists gave toys to the artist's eight children, who live in a two-room flat, and expressed sympathy with his wife's plight.

The artists protested against "the restriction of freedom and creativity, as expressed in the authorities' decision to imprison the Palestinian artist. The restriction of freedom of expression and creativity lead directly to fascism, whose first buds can already be seen in contemporary Israeli society."

6 drug suspects held

TEL AVIV (Itim) - Two men suspected of smuggling drugs were remanded into custody for 10 days yesterday by the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court. They are Eliezer Kimchi, 35, and Yehuda Tzabari, 52, both of Tel Aviv.

The police suspect the two are linked to a heroin-smuggling operation that involved shipments from Thailand through Germany, France and Holland to Israel.

The police told the court that other people have been arrested in the case and several other suspects are being sought.

In the Tel Aviv Magistrates Court four men suspected of possessing hashish were yesterday remanded into custody for eight days. The drugs were found in the Tel Aviv apartment of Motti Dayan, 21, and Yaron Suissa, 20. Amikam Yarim, 35, and Yitzhak Cowen, 32, were also remanded in the case.

Military historians to convene next week

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV - Small countries are better able to develop and use modern military technology than large countries are because the decision-making process in small countries is simpler, Dr. Azriel Lorber will tell participants in an international congress on military history at Tel Aviv University next week.

Lorber's paper will be one of 47 to be presented by participants from 15 countries. The visitors, who will include a former Finnish chief of staff and a South Korean general, will be taken on tours of ancient and contemporary military sites.

Body of Ramallah youth washed up on TA beach

TEL AVIV (Itim) - The body of a 15-year-old youth from Ramallah was washed up on the beach here on Friday morning. Police suspect that the boy's friend who was swimming with him was also drowned.

Police boats searched for the second boy's body.

50 من الأصل



Lewis equals his idol's feats

LOS ANGELES (AP) - American Superstar Carl Lewis duplicated one of track and field's greatest feats, capturing his fourth Olympic gold medal on Saturday, and then saluted Jesse Owens, his boyhood idol, whose 1936 achievements he had matched exactly.

"Jesse Owens is still the same to me, a legend," Lewis said, after anchoring America's 400-metre relay team to a world record time of 37.83 seconds, the only track and field world record of the Los Angeles games. "Without the inspiration Jesse Owens gave me, I wouldn't be here today."

"I don't look at myself as anything more than a person with a God-given talent. I still feel like I did six years ago. I'm just a little older, and more people come to my press conferences."

Jamaica, with Donald Quarrie, the 1976 200-metre champion running the third leg, finished second behind the United States in 38.62. Canada was third in 38.70. The relay race was won easily by Lewis and his team-mates. Their handoffs were flawless and they led almost throughout.

"The last leg is kind of dirty work," Lewis said. "All I have to do is run against the clock. It's like we did our job, now you go for the world record. The lead the guys gave me...you can't imagine anything like that."

Lewis said he was not sure as recently as a year ago that he could match Owens' four gold record. "I practised through countless hurts, bad times and good times," he said. "It was a lot of hard work."

Asked what he would do to celebrate, Lewis grinned and said, "Jump in my pool fully dressed. I'm physically tired, but I'm sad it's over."

Lewis said he was not concerned about what his four gold medals might mean to him in the market place.

"I don't care about that," he said. "My goal has been the Olympics. If I make 50 cents or \$50,000 doesn't matter. I have four gold medals. That's something nobody can take away."

COE'S GREAT DOUBLE

Sebastian Coe cracked the 16-year-old Olympic record and became the first runner ever to repeat as Games' champion in the men's 1,500 metres as Britain went 1-2 in the event.

Coe, who also won the event at the 1980 Games, was timed in 3 minutes, 32.53 seconds to better the Olympic record of 3:34.90 seconds set by Kenya's Kip Keino in Mexico City in 1968. Second was Britain's Steve Cram and the bronze medal went to Spain's Jose Abascal.

The world's record-holder in the event, Steve Ovett of Britain, collapsed with about a lap to go and was taken off on a stretcher. He was later reported to be in good health.

World record-holder Zhu Jianhua of China couldn't handle the pressure of Olympic competition. That was the consensus of the top jumpers



Sebastian Coe yells to the crowd in joy as he crosses the line to win the 1,500m.

(UPI)

after Zhu finished third in the high jump.

"I was not impressed with Zhu at the higher heights," said Doug Nordquist of the United States, who finished fifth. "The pressure got to him and there is a lot out there, especially on the holder of the world record."

Dietmar Mogenburg of West Germany captured the gold medal by clearing 2.35 metres. Surprising winner of the silver was 19-year-old Patrik Sjöberg of Sweden, who managed 2.33 metres.

Zhu, 21, holds the world mark at 2.39 metres, but could manage only 2.31 metres. He tied American Dwight Stones at that mark, but won the bronze because he had fewer misses.

"I'm very surprised at the Chinese jumper's inability to win the competition or even jump higher," Stones said. "I think he is upset and dismayed with the way he jumped."

Stones said Zhu was bothered by all the activity on the high jump end of the track at the Los Angeles Coliseum. The competition was held near the platform where medal ceremonies are conducted. On top of that, Zhu was about to make a crucial attempt at 2.33 metres when Britain's Steve Ovett collapsed near the high jump pit during the 1,500 metres.

"I'm sorry Ovett collapsed, but if I'm Zhu I'd really wish he'd collapse somewhere else," Stones said.

Stones added that Zhu wanted to jump but officials wouldn't let him. Said Aouita of Morocco won the 5,000 metres in Olympic record time of 13 minutes, 05.59 seconds for his nation's second track gold.

Aouita took the lead with 250 metres to go and outkicked Markus Ryffel of Switzerland who took the silver. The bronze went to Antonio Leitao of Portugal.

Brendan Foster of Britain set the

previous Olympic record 13:21.34 in a preliminary heat in the 1976 Games at Montreal.

Aouita's winning time was only about five seconds off the world record held by David Moorcroft of Britain, who was lapped in the race.

The United States' women set an Olympic record in the 1,600-metre relay.

The quarter's time of 3 minutes, 18.29 seconds shattered the old mark of 3:19.23 seconds set by East Germany in 1976. Canada was the silver medalist and West Germany got the bronze.

Valerie Brisco-Hooks, Lillie Leatherwood, Sherri Howard and Chandra Cheeseborough formed the team.

It was the second gold medal in one hour for Cheeseborough, who ran the third leg in the 400-metre relay and anchored the 1,600-metre team. Earlier in the games, Cheeseborough was the silver medalist at 400 metres. The U.S. won the 4x100 relay, with Evelyn Ashford getting her second gold medal.

Gabriella Dorio of Italy ran away with the gold in the women's 1,500-metres, with a charge down the final straight to cover the distance in 4 minutes, 32.5 seconds.

Rumania's Doina Melinte was second in 4:03.76, while her compatriot, Marica Puica, was third in 4:04.15.

Ria Stalman won the women's discus with a throw of 65.36 metres, giving the Netherlands their first medal in the Olympic track and field competition.

Leslie Deniz of the United States threw 64.86 for the silver and Florenta Craciunescu of Rumania took the bronze with a best of 63.62.

Stalman, throwing after Deniz, took the lead from the American in the sixth and final round of the competition. Moments earlier, Deniz had fouled on her final throw. Alessandro Andrei of Italy won the Shot Put with Michael Carter (U.S.), taking the silver and Dave Laut (U.S.) the bronze. Andrei's toss was 21m.

Still another Olympic record fell in the Games' longest event - the 50-kilometre walk, which Mexico's Raul Gonzalez finished in 3 hours 47 minutes 26 seconds. The old mark of 3:49.24 was set by Hartwig Gauder of East Germany in Moscow in 1980.

Bo Gustafsson of Sweden was second in 3:53.19 and Sandro Bellucci of Italy was third in 3:53.45.

Yugoslavs take handball gold

LOS ANGELES (Reuters) - Yugoslavia, leading 18-15 with three minutes left, withstood a strong West German push to win the men's Olympic handball first-place play-off 18-17.

Erhard Wunderlich scored the Germans' 17th goal, with 29 seconds left, but Yugoslavia held on to regain the title they won in 1972. West Germany took the silver.

In a tense second period, the score was level five times but the Germans never managed to take the lead.

Yugoslavia surged ahead in the final minutes before Jochen Franz, the game's highest scorer with seven goals, and Wunderlich cut the final margin to just one goal.

Medals tally

LOS ANGELES (AP) - Ten countries waited until Saturday, the next to last day of Olympic competition, to win their first medal at these games. The countries to earn their first medals on Saturday were Pakistan, Algeria, Cameroon, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Nigeria, Puerto Rico, Syria, Thailand and Zambia.

	G	S	B	Total
U.S.	80	59	30	169
Germany	17	19	23	59
Rumania	20	16	17	53
Canada	10	17	16	43
G.B.	5	10	21	36
Italy	14	6	12	32
China	15	8	8	31
Japan	10	8	13	31
France	5	7	15	27
Australia	4	8	12	24
S. Korea	6	6	7	19
Sweden	2	11	6	19
Yugoslavia	7	4	7	18
Netherlands	5	2	6	13
Finland	4	1	6	11
New Zealand	4	1	2	7
Brazil	1	5	2	8
Switzerland	0	4	3	7
Mexico	2	3	1	6
Denmark	0	3	3	6
Spain	1	2	2	5
Belgium	1	1	2	4
Austria	1	1	1	3
Jamaica	1	1	1	3
Norway	0	1	2	3
Turkey	0	0	3	3
Venezuela	0	0	3	3
Morocco	2	0	0	2
Kenya	0	1	1	2
Greece	0	1	1	2
Nigeria	0	1	1	2
Puerto Rico	0	1	1	2
Algeria	0	0	2	2
Portugal	0	0	2	2
Pakistan	1	0	0	1
Colombia	0	1	0	1
Egypt	0	1	0	1
Ivory Coast	0	1	0	1
Penn	0	1	0	1
Syria	0	1	0	1
Thailand	0	1	0	1
Cameroon	0	0	1	1
Dan. Republic	0	0	1	1
Taiwan	0	0	1	1
Zambia	0	0	1	1

France win soccer

LOS ANGELES (Reuters) - Two second-half goals in eight minutes gave France a 2-0 victory over Brazil and their first Olympic soccer gold medal.

Watched by a record 161,799 U.S. soccer crowd, the French exploded into attack in the second half at the Rose Bowl stadium.

France, winners of the European Championship in June, became the new kings of soccer, with goals by Francois Brisson, in the 55th minute, and Daniel Kassar in the 61st.

Yugoslavia won the bronze medal by beating Italy 2-1.

Last night's capacity crowd in the suburb of Pasadena brought total attendance at the 32 matches of the Olympic tournament, held in four cities, to more than 1.42 million - an average of more than 44,400 a game in a nation relatively new to the sport.

Other sports

BOXING - Americans won nine of the 12 titles at stake. South Korea, Italy and Yugoslavia won one each.

JUDO - Japan's Yasuhiko Yamashita overcame a leg injury to keep his seven-year unbeaten record alive and to win the Olympic gold medal in the open judo competition.

Although limping badly from the injury sustained in his second contest, the Japanese champion quickly knocked down and pinned Egypt's Mohamed Rashwan who took the silver medal. Bronze medals went to Rumania's Mihail Cioc and West Germany's Arthur Schaubert.

TENNIS - Staff Graf, a 15-year-old from West Germany, triumphed over an ailing Sebring Gales of Yugoslavia, 1-6, 6-3, 6-4, to win the women's tennis.

Sweden's Stefan Edberg strangled a comeback bid by Mexico's Francisco Pancho to top the men's division 6-1, 7-6 (6-4).

FIELD HOCKEY - Kazakhstan netted a rebound in the first overtime period on Saturday to give Pakistan a 2-1 triumph over West Germany and the gold medal in men's field hockey.

West Germany won the silver and upset Britain took the bronze by edging top-seeded Australia 3-2 in an earlier game.

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three to Rio de Janeiro,

three to Acunacion,

three to Panama,

three to Quito,

two to Sao Paulo,

two to San Domingo,

two to Montevideo,

two to Costa Rica,

two to Chile,

two to Havana,

two to Guatemala,

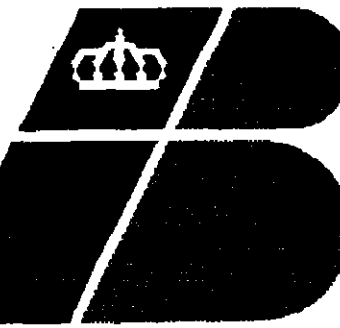
one to Managua.

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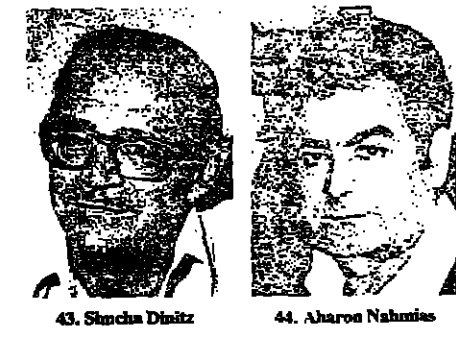
Likud (41)



Morasha (2)



CRM (3)



Shinui (3)



PLP (2)



Tami (1)



Yahad (3)



Ometz (1)



Aguda (2)



NRP (4)



Tehiya (5)



Shas (4)



Kach (1)



DFPE (4)



Navy minesweeping helicopter leaving for
the Red Sea.

U.S. Navy

Suez Sweep

Return to Mideast Is an Unhurried Deployment

By WAYNE RIDDLE

JUST three months before the Presidential election, the Reagan Administration sent American servicemen back to the Middle East last week to help Egypt clear mines from Red Sea shipping lanes. Widely perceived as a noncontroversial humanitarian mission, the open-ended deployment nonetheless ran the risk of bringing unpleasant surprises in a region that has proved hazardous for President Reagan.

In the Persian Gulf, the region's other jugular vein for oil shipments, Iraq renewed its air strikes against naval targets around Iran's Kharg Island oil terminal after a monthlong lull. Yesterday, Baghdad claimed its planes sank five Iraqi warships. Earlier, a Greek-owned tanker and an oil-loading platform were hit.

No one from Cairo to Washington could say for sure who had sown the explosives in the Red Sea that have damaged at least 12 ships including a Polish ship disabled yesterday, but a connection with the Gulf war seemed a likely explanation. Indeed, Tehran radio at first praised the mining, which it said was carried out by a shadowy pro-Iranian group known as Islamic Holy War. Later, Iran decided that the United States and Israel had placed the mines. Disavowing responsibility for the mining and the July 31 hijacking to Tehran of an Air France passenger jet, Iran's leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, thereupon denounced "unsound statements read on the national radio which defame Iran."

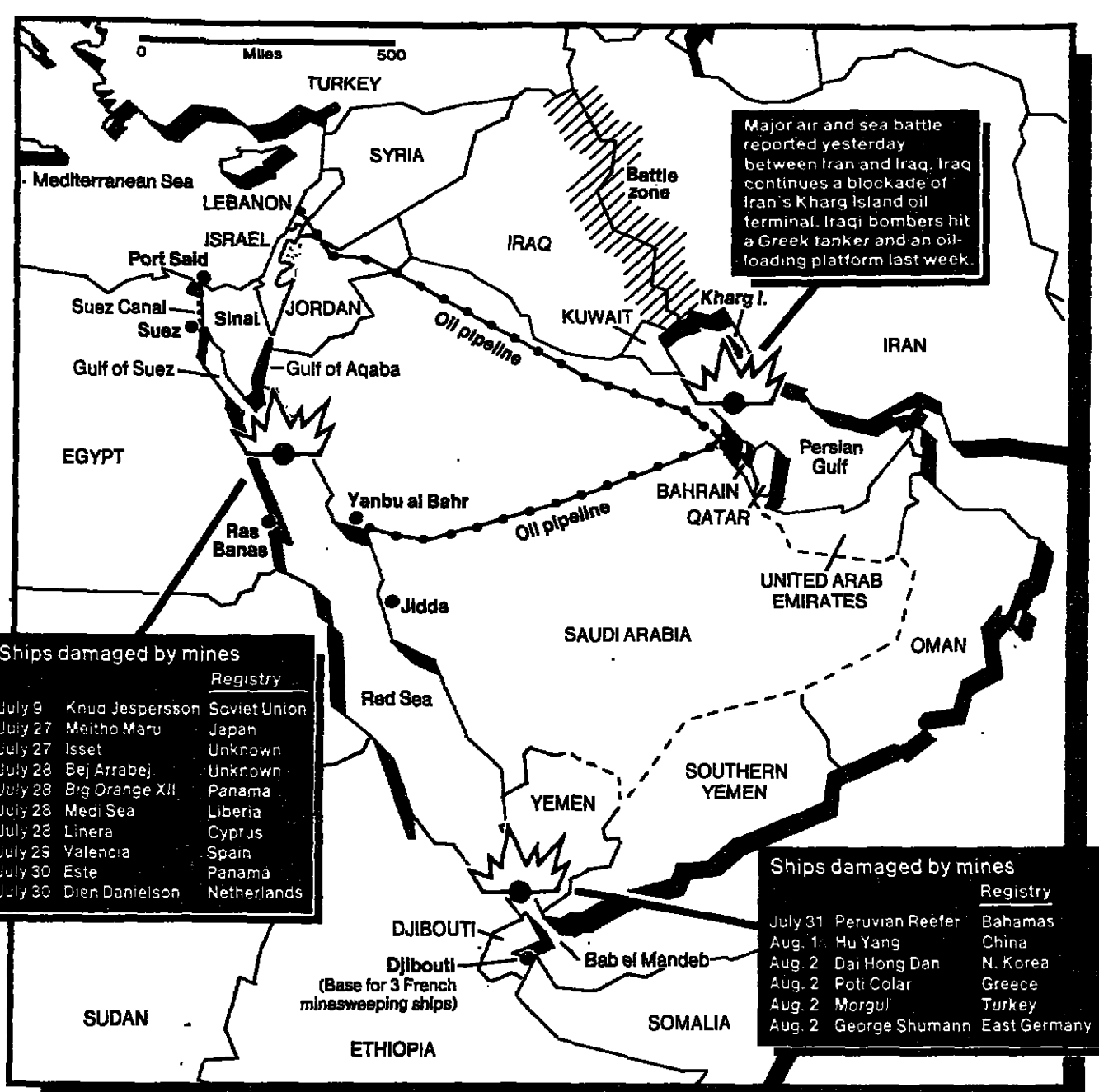
The puzzling sequence defied speculation that a struggle for succession to power might be under way in

Teheran. The Ayatollah is 84 years old and reportedly ailing.

Aside from determining who placed the mines, which officials said may be impossible even if one is recovered, there was another issue closer to home. The dispatch of 200 sailors and four minesweeping helicopters was a test of the Pentagon's much-discussed rapid-deployment capability. The unit was airlifted from Norfolk, Va., to Rota, Spain, and transferred to the Shreveport, normally a Marine assault ship, which was to take it on to the Gulf of Suez this week. The 10 days in transit raised questions about how rapidly a combat force could be deployed.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's formal request for United States assistance was hailed in the Cairo press. But a State Department specialist said the decision to use Shreveport was made partly because of Egyptian sensitivity to receiving foreign troops. To keep the force small and self-contained, it was based at sea rather than on land, the Navy said. The Shreveport, a floating village that can provide everything from helicopter repair to haircuts, had to unload its normal equipment to take on the minesweeping contingent, a spokesman said. He added that the slow voyage across the Mediterranean would give crew members time for practice. The helicopters are outfitted with devices, towed far behind on cables, that can destroy various types of mines activated by contact, sound or magnetism.

A Senate staff member with years of military helicopter experience predicted that the minesweepers would soon require a land base because the Shreveport



Source: State Department, Lloyd's of London

was not designed for sustained operation of four large helicopters. "Warfare is characterized by the ability to adapt rapidly," another Senate defense aide said, referring to the 10-day reaction time. "We've got a serious problem." There were also questions about the suitability of the helicopters for the mission. Modern British and French minesweeper ships were joining the operation. Since these ships were close by in the Mediterranean and Red Sea, why did Egypt turn first to the United States? "Egypt is more at ease with the distant States, considering the level of military assistance (\$1.367 billion this year) it gets," a State Department official said.

A convenient land base could be Ras Banas, Egypt, on the Red Sea. Congress has authorized \$55 million since 1980 to improve its airfield and port, but "not a shovel has been turned" there, a Pentagon official said. His description contrasted with Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger's mention in his annual report to Congress this year of a "strategically located base" where "once construction is completed, access to Ras Banas in time of crisis... would allow us to deploy forces to Southwest Asia or the Middle East much sooner than if we had to wait until we could directly enter the affected country."

"It's a long way away and we haven't prepared for this contingency in the Red Sea," said William Quandt, who was a National Security Council Middle East expert during the Carter Administration. "We're stretched thin if we have to do more than one thing at a time in the Gulf," he added, "but given the facts of life, it would be hard to question our emphasis." Mr. Quandt, who is now at the Brookings Institution, characterized the minesweeping expedition as a "minimal entry price" into the region. In view of the collapse last winter of the American marines' peacekeeping mission in Beirut, "We're at a time when we need to demonstrate an ability to respond to friendly nations in the area, such as Egypt," he said.

But the perceived need to respond and the ability to do so are two different beasts, as recent American experience in the Middle East has shown. With attacks on Gulf shipping heating up again, with indications of conflict among Iran's leaders raising possibilities of unpredictable consequences, and with volatile Lebanon still far from stabilized, the Administration no doubt hopes that the mission undertaken with little controversy in the languorous days of August will come home safely by the chilly days of November.

U.N. Studies Plans To Slow World Population Growth

ALMOST two centuries after Malthus, the United Nations International Conference on Population convened in Mexico City for an update on density and destiny. It was an appropriate setting. Some 3,000 delegates from more than 130 countries had only to gaze out the windows of the glass-sheathed Ministry of Foreign Relations for a firsthand view of the problem. Mexico, despite what is considered an effective family planning program, will double in size in less than three decades.

Since the first population conference in Bucharest a decade ago, the annual global growth rate has fallen from 2.03 percent to 1.67 percent. But Rafael M. Salas of the Philippines, Secretary General of the session, predicted last week that the world will continue to become more crowded for another century or so before stabilizing with 10.5 billion residents. "A struggle for scarce resources," he warned, "very often intensifies with the increase in the number of people involved." Indeed, the squeeze is already on: 42 percent of children under five are malnourished, and 1 in 10 in the third world die before their first birthday. One billion people lack clean water to drink, and a quarter of the world's families live in inadequate dwellings.

Even in the extremely unlikely event that third world incomes grow by 6 percent a year, Mr. Salas said, more than 800 million people will still be living in poverty in the year 2000.

All this has helped ease the third world's longstanding suspicion of family planning programs. The United States, meanwhile, articulated a tougher policy against one of the chief means of population control. The use of foreign aid for abortions has been barred since 1974, but James L. Buckley, the chief United States delegate, spelled out the Reagan Administration's decision not to contribute to private agencies that perform or promote the procedure. The conference urged governments "to take appropriate steps to help women avoid abortions, which in no way should be promoted as a method of family planning." Mr. Buckley stressed a belief in free-market economies as "the natural mechanism for slowing population growth."



Camera Press/José Manuel Durazo

Pinochet struggles to contain the opposition

3

Abortion and School Prayer Become Campaign Issues

Religion Enters a Political Revival

By JOHN HERBERS

IT has been a century since Catholics in New York were so offended by a Protestant clergyman's labeling the Democrats as "the party whose antecedents are rum, Romanism and rebellion" that Republican Senator James G. Blaine narrowly lost the state, and so the Presidential election, to Grover Cleveland. Once again, pronouncements that America has become a secular society notwithstanding, religion is playing a major and potentially divisive role in Presidential politics.

Religion in politics has frequently been submerged in the intervening years. But it never went away. And though the current controversy involving President Reagan, Governor Cuomo, Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro and the Roman Catholic hierarchy has deep roots, changed circumstances make it different from anything seen in the past. The debate over who is the more godly, President Reagan or his Democratic opponents, has the characteristics of vintage political demagoguery. But it is the persistent issue of abortion and how that issue affects the electoral process at all levels that has brought religion into political discourse in such an unusual manner, with Democratic leaders who are Catholic arguing with their church and leaders of the church, as in the statement issued last week by Bishop James W. Malone, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, arguing back.

The conflicts of the past most often rested on fears by the Protestant majority that Catholics in high political office would allow the Pope to dictate policy to American Government. John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, seemed finally to settle the issue in 1960, by convincing Southern fundamentalists that as President he would enforce the Constitution above his allegiance to the church. "I do not speak for my church on public matters," he said in a historic meeting with an assembly of ministers in Houston, "and the Church does not speak for me." Indeed, fear of papal interference has all but disappeared. President Reagan recently appointed an ambassador to the Vatican without the uproar that had greeted even talk about doing so by Presidents past. And Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants have come closer, agreeing on such matters as abortion, aid to parochial schools and anti-Communism.

At the same time, America in the 1960's and 1970's was not turning so secular as many observers had believed. In 1981, Research and Forecasts Inc. did extensive polling for the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company on values people hold, finding that reli-



Bishop James W. Malone

United Press International

"We reject the idea that candidates satisfy the requirements of rational analysis in saying their personal views should not influence their policy decisions."

gion had an impact on almost every aspect of American life. About 74 percent of those polled described themselves as religious people. And religious feelings were found to be strongest among low-income people.

"We had no idea religion was such a big priority with people," said Gina Alexis of the research firm. But political leaders had not missed the point. Strict separation of church and state has given way to accommodation, as both legislation and court rulings have shown — for example, the Supreme Court's holding that the use of tax money for a Christmas Nativity scene was permissible and the "equal access" bill President Reagan announced that he signed yesterday, prohibiting public high schools from barring student gatherings for religious purposes. When he began his re-election drive, he made explicit appeals to both the fundamentalist Protestants and Catholics. If successful, he could sweep both religious groups and low-income voters who otherwise would choose the Democratic ticket for non-religious reasons.

Enter the abortion issue. The right-to-life movement arose in the early 1970's after the Supreme Court ruled that abortion was legal in the first three months of a pregnancy. At

first, the opposition movement flourished through secular organizations. Gradually, however, as fundamentalist organizations such as the Moral Majority took up the abortion issue and endorsed conservative candidates, religious groups became more directly involved in partisan politics. Some thought the new Archbishop of New York, John J. O'Connor, was moving in the same direction when he said recently, "I don't see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate who explicitly supports abortion."

Democratic politicians, many of whom are opposed to Government bans on abortions, were fearful that Mr. Reagan was pre-empting the support of many religious people on an issue that had become intertwined with others such as school prayer and opposition to an equal rights amendment. Mrs. Ferraro, the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, and Governor Cuomo, both Catholics who personally oppose abortion but do not support a Government ban, have been trying to redefine what constitutes a Christian position by making abortion only one of the concerns on which to judge a candidate. Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic Presidential nominee, has picked up the refrain, telling an anti-abortion questioner in Madison, Ala., last week, "There is a whole range of issues on which I think you and I would agree" but that he could not support a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

Some harsh words have been said along the way. Mrs. Ferraro in saying Mr. Reagan "walks around calling himself a good Christian, but I don't for one minute believe it because (his) policies are so terribly unfair," Mr. Cuomo in saying, "I'm not going to judge Ronald Reagan and ask why did you leave your first wife, was that a Christian thing to do, have you seen your grandchild?"

But in a broader sense, Mr. Cuomo has also touched on a question concerning some political thinkers, and one which goes far beyond religion and partisanship. It is that the passions of people with strong positions on abortion are so strong that their political activities can have a disproportionate influence. As to the Archbishop, Mr. Cuomo said, "If you look literally at what he's saying, he can only vote for a right-to-life." The Archbishop said he did not mean that. Last week came the bishops' intended clarification of their church's position. Members of the hierarchy, their statement said, should not support partisan political candidates; on the other hand, it is not logical for candidates to say "their personal views should not influence their policy decisions."

It was a direct disagreement with Mr. Cuomo's assertion, and a reaffirmation of a longstanding Catholic position. It was not one likely to remove religion from the campaign.

The World

Congress Sends \$70 Million More To Salvador

With help from José Napoleón Duarte, the Reagan Administration last week overcame Democratic opposition and won Congressional approval for \$70 million in additional military aid for El Salvador. Representative Jack Kemp, Republican of New York, told the House he had just spoken to the Salvadoran President by telephone. "Let's not pull the rug out from under President Duarte," he said. "Let's give democracy a chance in El Salvador."

The approval fell short of the Administration's original request for \$117 million but raised this year's military package for El Salvador to \$185.7 million. Congress also added \$120 million to boost the war-ravaged Salvadoran economy.

The Administration obtained nearly \$500 million in additional aid for Central America, about half of what it asked. Notably omitted was money for the C.I.A.-supported Nicaraguan rebels.

The Salvador aid vote reflected a change in the mood of Congress brought about by President Duarte's very successful lobbying visit to Washington shortly after his election.

Israel's Labor Gets a Chance

Israel last week concentrated on grave domestic concerns. President Chaim Herzog, citing economic problems "that may well be the most dangerous and difficult this state has ever known," asked Shimon Peres, a fellow Labor Party member, to try to form a government.

Under the rules, Mr. Peres has five weeks left to do so but his prospects are uncertain. Labor won 44 seats and came in first in last month's elections, far short of a majority in the 120-seat Parliament.

Mr. Peres pledged "a supreme effort to rise above the differences of opinion" that splintered the new Knesset into 15 parties, most of them small. He met privately with Yitzhak Shamir, leader of the other large party, Likud, and now the caretaker Prime Minister. Likud, with 41 seats, was a close second.

All three leaders say a national unity coalition is needed. But Mr. Shamir was publicly skeptical about Mr. Peres's chances, predicting Labor could not retain the support in a unity grouping of left-wing Mapam members who hold six of the Labor Alignment's seats. Naftali Feder of Mapam said he was not worried about that problem because "too many conflicts" would keep Labor and Likud from getting together.

Sharpening one point of conflict, the Defense Ministry authorized Jewish settlers to move their house trailers to a new spot near the West Bank town of Rebron. Labor wants to put a freeze on additional settlements in the territory taken from Jordan in 1967 and to locate them at a distance from Arab communities. But Ariel Sharon, a Shamir Cabinet member, insisted that settlements should be established all over the West Bank.

The Shamir Government also said it would begin cutting Government spending to try to bring down the 400 percent inflation rate. But Mr. Sharon said Likud was not ready to start by cutting the money for the new settlements.

How Russian Dissidents Live

Four years ago, the Kremlin banished Andrei D. Sakharov to the city of Gorky, which is closed to foreigners, to cut him off from the rest of the world. Although it has succeeded in throwing a veil of secrecy over the



Andrei D. Sakharov, in what is claimed to be a recent photograph.

lives of the dissident and his wife, the silence has spoken loudly to international public opinion.

Conflicting information last week renewed concern about Dr. Sakharov, who was reported to have begun a hunger strike May 2 after his wife, Yelena G. Bonner, was not allowed to go abroad for medical treatment. Friends of the nuclear physicist said two letters from Miss Bonner had cast doubt on their report earlier in

the week — based on a source who had not been in direct contact with Miss Bonner — that he had ended his fast and was being held against his will at a hospital. In the letters, she is quoted as having said she had not seen her husband since May 7.

The letters did, however, confirm earlier statements that she has been charged with anti-Soviet activities and expects to go on trial at the end of the month.

Life is no easier for Anatoly B. Shcharansky, a former activist in the Jewish emigration movement who has been in prison since he was convicted on spying and other charges in 1978.

Last week his mother said his rationing and visiting and correspondence privileges had been curtailed, a move that could indicate his sentence will be extended. The prison warden told her that Mr. Shcharansky, whose health has deteriorated since a 110-day fast, had violated rules, and did not meet his basket-weaving quota.

Killing Civilians Again in Uganda

There seem to be only two sides in Uganda's stepped-up war against guerrillas: Army or enemy. Relying on reports from private refugee organizations, State Department officials said last week that more than 100,000 civilians had been killed, many of them since March, when President Milton Obote stopped relief agencies from distributing food and medical supplies near the capital of Kampala in an effort to starve out the rebels. Reports of the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children by Army units and the mass arrests of civilians, some of whom said they had been tortured at secret prisons, seemed reminiscent of the atrocities under Idi Amin, who was ousted in 1979.

The Army's "get-tough" policy followed raids earlier in the year on military outposts north of Kampala in the Luwero area, home of the Baganda tribe believed to be sympathetic to the insurgent National Resistance Army.

"The military is clearly out of control," said Senator Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa, who was told during a visit to Uganda last month that food had been cut off to 140,000 people. Appearing before Congress, Elliott Abrams, the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, called the abuses "among the most grave in the world."

Mr. Abrams resisted the suggestion that the Administration invoke a provision in the law prohibiting military assistance to a country violating international standards of human rights, but the point was moot. Uganda had already suspended a \$100,000 military aid program under which Ugandan Army officers were sent to the United States for training and barred an American colonel from visiting the country to administer the program. Officials in Kampala termed the reports of abuses "highly distorted."

Latest Results In the Arms Race

Two years ago, Paul H. Nitze, then the American negotiator at Geneva, reported a tentative agreement with his Soviet counterpart to limit each side to 75 launchers of medium-range missiles, most of them to be aimed at Europe. The proposal was rejected in the White House and the Kremlin (which the Reagan Administration insists was never ready to accept it). Last week as the arms race continued, Administration officials and intelligence sources said the Soviet Union had exceeded the proposed 1982 limit by 500 percent.

The officials said the Russians now have 378 SS-20 launchers armed with 1,134 nuclear warheads. The United States force of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe will soon total 100.

Since 1979, when the Carter Administration marshaled NATO support for new missiles in Europe, the United States has lost its small lead in overall capacity there, which was partly based on obsolete warheads that have since been scrapped. The American total has dropped from 7,000 warheads to 6,000, while the Soviet total increased to 8,000. The gap is expected to become an issue in the Presidential campaign. President Reagan says his program of military spending has added to American security. Democrats say the gap is the consequence of four years without progress on arms control.

"The effect of the numbers on the overall balance is negative but marginal," a State Department official said. But Pentagon experts warned that the Soviet Union may be planning a nuclear buildup in Europe so large that it would undermine the credibility of the United States nuclear deterrent there.

Milt Freudenheim,
Richard Levine,
and Henry Gliner

Conflicts Have Led to Turmoil and Kidnapping

Religious Frictions Heat Up in Nigeria

By CLIFFORD D. MAY

KADUNA, Nigeria — This grimy industrial city in north central Nigeria has become the center of intense controversy over the use and abuse of power. The debate touches on strains between Islam and Christianity along the seam between Arab and black Africa. It also concerns the abduction in London last month of Umaru Dikko, an important figure in the civilian Government that was overthrown by the military on Dec. 31.

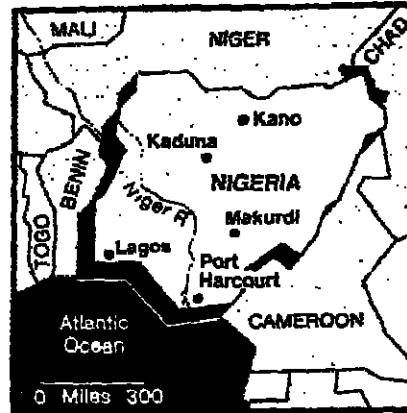
For years, Nigerians have spoken quietly of something they call the Kaduna mafia. It is not, a prominent lawyer said, a mafia in the American or Italian sense but rather a network of powerful alliances reaching into the army, civil service and business world. Members are drawn from the northern aristocracy, sons of traditional rulers and other influential men. The lawyer, like other Nigerians and Westerners assessing northern hegemony, requested anonymity.

The network began to take shape in the late 1950's, a political scientist said. Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna (a title of nobility which translates as war leader) of Sokoto, became concerned over the shift of power from the Islamic north, where the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group is predominant, to the mostly Christian southwest and southeast inhabited largely by Yorubas and Ibos respectively. While most Nigerian Moslems then attended traditional Koranic schools, the Christians were receptive to Western-style education, which gave

them an edge in business, the modern military and the civil service. Determined to counter this trend, the Sardauna and other northern leaders selected the brightest sons of the big aristocratic families and sent them to the best schools in England and elsewhere.

Among the beneficiaries of changing attitudes toward education were Shehu Shagari, who later became President and was overthrown in December, and his close associate, Mr. Dikko. When Mr. Shagari attended secondary school in Kaduna, he was the first person from his ancestral village to get a secular education. Mr. Dikko, who was born in Kaduna, attended the University of London and was graduated in 1965. In the following years, northern Moslems began moving into important posts. This accelerated in the wake of the 1967-70 civil war when Ibos, who lost their bid to set up a separate state, were temporarily ostracized. When the army relinquished power to civilians in 1979, the National Party of Nigeria, building on its northern Moslem, Hausa-Fulani constituency, triumphed in the federal elections. Mr. Shagari became President; Mr. Dikko became a key minister.

"Dikko understood the system and knew how to



manipulate it," said a Nigerian newspaper editor who is a Christian. "You have to give him that. He loved doing it and he made himself very rich in the process. But no one was ever able to actually pin anything on him," he added. "If I had had evidence proving him guilty of corruption, don't you think I would have published it?"

After last year's election, which preceded the coup led by Maj. Gen. Mohammed Buhari by only four months, important factions in Kaduna became dissatisfied with Mr. Shagari and Mr. Dikko, according to Christian and Moslem former officials in the Shagari Government. Some Nigerians say the dissatisfaction stemmed primarily from the aura of corruption and flamboyant living associated with many members of the Shagari Government, notably Mr. Dikko, and with persistent accusations that election results had been falsified. Mr. Dikko headed the Shagari re-election campaign. Others attribute the criticism to the erosion under civilian rule of the power of traditional authorities — sultans, emirs and chiefs of various ranks.

Some Nigerians say that influential members of the Kaduna group objected to President Shagari's assertion that, in the interest of national unity, he would have to be succeeded after his second term by a Christian from the south. "Nigeria has become a main battleground between Christianity and Islam," a senior Western envoy said. "Many Nigerians feel that the north, a land ruled for centuries by Moslem princes, should not now be governed by 'infidels.'" Nigerians and Western diplomats note that the present leadership is the most northern and Islamic-dominated of modern times and that the military has made notable efforts recently to recognize and restore traditional rulers to influence and prominence.

Some Nigerians have accused the military Government of practicing discrimination. They note that only one of the nine civilian governors so far convicted by secret military tribunals is a northern Moslem and National Party member. They add that Mr. Shagari is believed to be under house arrest while former Vice President Alex Ekwueme, an Ibo and Christian, is in Kiri-Kiri, a maximum-security prison. Government spokesmen deny the accusations. The trials, they say, are merely proceeding at different paces in different regions. Mr. Dikko, who escaped to London shortly after the coup, has been living there under heavy police guard since his abduction. He has vowed to wage a "holy war" against the military and is despised as an apostate by many of the northern power brokers. Had the kidnappers succeeded in bringing him home, some Nigerians say, the Government would have dealt with him severely, thus muting the impression of northern Moslem bias.



Moslems in northern Nigeria at their Friday prayers.

Rapidly Growing Country Attracts Much Western Aid

Difficulties For Kenya Mount With Population

By ALAN COWELL

NAIROBI, Kenya — Not long ago, a boy's school decided to put on a fireworks display and advertised it widely. Advance publicity, however, did not prevent some people from panicking when the bangs and crashes began to reverberate. They called friends and asked what was going on. Soon, wire services were receiving inquiries from Kenyans abroad about rumors of unrest.

The incident is recounted by foreigners and Kenyans as evidence that the failed coup in August 1982 has not been forgotten. Its specter still hampers a Western-sponsored effort to restore self-confidence and stability to this chunk of land on Africa's eastern seaboard, which has for years been viewed as the West's main asset in the area.

The American Navy calls at Mombasa. The British Army sends troops, ostensibly to train in the deserts and forests. During the past year, Western involvement has also been expressed by great infusions of aid. Between them, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund provided over \$400 million to try to restore the economy. The United States contributed a \$30 million grant, the biggest of its kind in Africa.

Yet, for all the investment in the stability of President Daniel arap Moi, the relationship is subject to a familiar third world stress: a soaring population. At the United Nations International Conference on World Population in Mexico City last week, the World Bank estimated that Kenya, one of the world's fastest growing nations, would explode from 18 million to 120 million by 2050. Since cropland has not been increasing, the young drift to the cities where recession reduces the number of jobs.

Two years ago, during the failed coup, the penitence and the hopelessness became a mob that poured from the shanties that lie close to the wealthy Nairobi suburb of Muthaiga. "What they wanted," said a lawyer well-versed in the country's politics, "was a government of the poor. That was their rallying cry then, and that's what they talk about now."

The antidote, by Western accounts, is jobs and food. Despite the Western assistance, however, the President's ability to deliver either is limited, although he has worked assiduously at holding down the unrest and at securing his hold on power. When he attained the Presidency in 1979 following the death of the Jomo Kenyatta, Mr. Moi was widely viewed as a caretaker, an innocuous figure from the small Kalenjin tribe who would remain in charge until the power brokers of the Kikuyu, the country's dominant ethnic group, had decided on a successor of their own.



President Daniel arap Moi

His motto was simply "Nyayo," meaning "footsteps," a suggestion of continuity that left no doubt about whose footsteps were to be followed. Since those days, the President is generally considered to have blazed his own trail. Mr. Moi is credited with upgrading military intelligence to insure that rumblings of the discontent, such as those that seized the lower ranks of the air force in 1982, are detected before they erupt into what now seems to have been one of several coups planned two years ago.

Moreover, he has emerged from the shadows of his mentor and, after elections last year, started breaking the Kikuyu grip on the nation's political life. Charles Njonjo, one of the most powerful figures in East Africa, is facing a public inquiry over allegations that he was involved in a failed coup by white mercenaries in the Seychelles in 1981. In addition, visits by the former Attorney General and Minister of Home and Constitutional Affairs to South Africa in contravention of Kenya's official foreign policy have been publicly chronicled. So far, in the assessment of Western diplomats, there has been no solid proof of the kind of treachery that would lead to an indictment on a major charge, but other prominent members of Mr. Njonjo's group have lost their Government positions.

Economically, foreign specialists say, the authorities have complied with the terms set down by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as conditions for assistance. With the capriciousness that often afflicts third world countries, tea prices suddenly improved and the tourists who had avoided Kenya after the 1982 upheaval began to return. Then, with equal capriciousness, there was a drought and optimism shriveled with the crops.

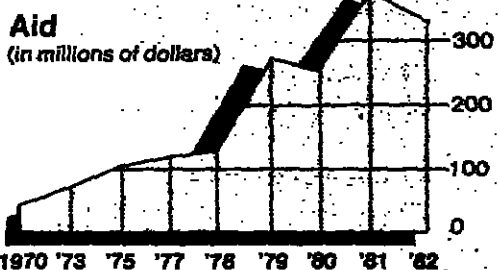
In other, more stoical countries, sporadic food shortages might be a pattern of life, but Kenya is used to relative wealth and self-sufficiency. When the cooking oil and corn flour disappear from the shelves, the grumbling begins quickly and the Government seems hypersensitive to the perils of urban distress. "There is still a certain amount of twitchiness in this place," a Western diplomat said.

For Western countries, the quandary is acute.

Helping out

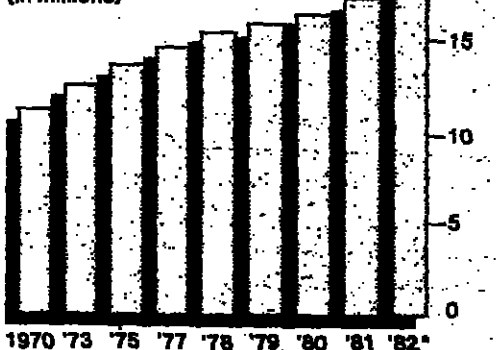
Development aid to Kenya from O.E.C.D. nations

Aid (in millions of dollars)



Population

(in millions)



*estimate
Sources: Wharton Econometrics; O.E.C.D.; United Nations



Kenya ranks high as a strategic asset on a coastline characterized by economic decay and turbulence from Somalia to Mozambique. It is an anchor in a region that encompasses insurgencies in Uganda and the southern Sudan. But the basic arithmetic of Kenya's limited land and growing population presents a problem that some believe will not be solved by foreign money alone. A foreigner who is about to leave after living here five years was asked what the differences were between then and now. "Five million differences," he replied. "Five million more people."

50
من الأصل

Erich Honecker

Gemma-Lindon/Debutal Simon

Kremlin Views Bonn's Recent Loan as a Sort of Trojan Horse

Warning East Berlin for Slight Lean West

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

BONN — Three months after imposing martial law in Poland, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, flew to East Berlin in March 1983 for a hero's welcome by East Germany's Communist leaders, who were among the sharpest critics of Polish liberalization and had repeatedly called for a crackdown. So some readers must have found it odd last week to find the East German weekly *Horizont*, which broadly reflects official thinking, reaffirming the right of Communist parties everywhere to "follow their own paths and arrive at their own solutions and conclusions."

The cautious appeal for ideological independence was striking, for it came amid a barrage of bitter denunciations in Soviet newspapers of moves by the two Germanys to improve relations, and in particular of the unprecedented visit to Bonn planned for next month by Erich Honecker, the East German leader. Pravda last week asserted that Bonn, which earlier this month had announced a \$330 million bank loan to East Berlin, was using an "economic lever" to undermine its Communist neighbor's stability, not to mention postwar Europe's. Pravda insisted that relaxing travel restrictions, to which East Berlin agreed in the loan deal, opened "new channels for political and ideological influence."

Diplomats in both Germanys were reminded of Kremlin thunderbolts hurled at errant regimes in Czechoslovakia in the 1960's and in Poland during the tumultuous Solidarity experiment. Had Mr. Honecker, Eastern Europe's Grand Inquisitor, joined the heretics? Was his excommunication imminent?

No one, to be sure, ever mistook him for Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovak leader in 1968. In recent months, the East German Government snuffed out a small peace movement and, only weeks after signing the recent agreements with West Germany, arrested 400 East Germans for seeking permits to visit the West. With 420,000 Soviet troops stationed in East Germany, a country the size of Kentucky, there was little of the sense of alarm in Moscow that accompanied the rise of Solidarity.

The gathering chill in Soviet-American relations last year, before new United States missiles were stationed in Western Europe, helped to drive the East Germans to intensify ties with the West. "When they perceived the

crisis coming, they scrambled, like eager squirrels, to store as much good will as they'd need to get through the winter," said Günter Gaus, Bonn's former representative in East Berlin. Mr. Gaus believes the warnings from Moscow are intended to insure that the freeze in Soviet-American relations also cools all East-West contacts.

Some analysts think Mr. Honecker obtained greater leeway in dealing with the West from the late Soviet leader, Yuri V. Andropov, in Moscow in May 1983. Significantly, Moscow's Ambassador to East Berlin, Pyotr A. Abramov, known for keeping the Germans on a tight leash, was soon replaced by Vyacheslav Kochemashov, a specialist on Germany and friend of Mr. Honecker.

Indeed, the bland and orthodox East German, who turns 72 this month, can offer considerable collateral for freedom of action. Ideologically, his record is spotless, as witnessed by the pressure on Poland to stifle Solidarity. Economically, resource-poor East Germany sends a steady stream of high-quality goods, including machinery and electrical equipment, to Russia, despite high prices it pays for Soviet fuel and raw materials. East Berlin also gives immense aid to pull Poland from the brink of bankruptcy. At the May meeting of leaders of Comecon, the Soviet-led economic community, East Berlin pledged even closer cooperation during the next five-year plan, 1986-90. "Honecker has an impeccable record in sticking to his commitments," said Christian Meier, a West German authority on Eastern Europe.

East German leaders have long suffered from their country's stigma as the "other" Germany, in the shadow of the powerful Federal Republic. Those who know him say Mr. Honecker seeks to enhance East Germany's standing not least from a sense of German patriotism. Under his Marxist aegis, such unlikely figures from German history as Luther and Bismarck have been reclaimed and a statue of Prussia's King Frederick the Great, damaged in World War II, was restored to a pedestal under Mr. Honecker's office window. "He spent eight years in Hitler's prisons," Mr. Gaus said. "He considers that proof that he's perhaps a better German than many other postwar German leaders." In West Germany in September, Mr. Honecker is to visit Essen, the headquarters of Krupp, the steel company that built weapons for the two World Wars. Krupp's chairman, Berthold Beitz, is another personal friend.



East German emigrants entering West Germany.

Sygma/Denis Flanagan

Mr. Honecker's efforts at closer contact with the West do not end in Bonn. In recent months, he received Sweden's Prime Minister Olof Palme, Greece's Andreas Papandreu and Italy's Bettino Craxi on official visits to East Berlin. According to some experts, East Berlin sees the planned visit to West Germany as a door-opener for trips to other Western capitals that could enhance East Germany's international standing.

Such travels might reduce Soviet fears that German-German cordiality might have as its real goal eventual reunification, which remains anathema to Russia's aged leaders with their sustained fear of a revived Third Reich. Analysts note, however, that the only limits to Mr. Honecker's maneuverability are Soviet interests. Few suspect that the East German leader is in any real danger. But part of the recent harsh message to East Berlin and Bonn alike, they say, is that no Western country should hope to enjoy cordial ties to Moscow's East European partners, while ignoring the sour state of Soviet-American relations.

Chilean Leader Declares There Will Be No Democracy Any Time Soon

Pinochet's Hard Line Stirs Up His Foes

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

SANTIAGO — During the 11 years he has ruled Chile, General Augusto Pinochet has devoted much of his considerable power to purging the country of Communists. But that hasn't stopped them from re-emerging in the last year as the focus of Chile's bitter political stalemate and the force behind much of the internal violence.

General Pinochet's feelings, and perhaps his frustration, were evident last week in his refusal to speed up the country's planned transition to democracy. "There will be no elections," he said in a rare interview, vowing to stay in power until at least 1989. With that, he stirred a furor among opposition parties and also contradicted his Interior Minister, Sergio Onofre Jarpa, who last week repeated his pledge to call a plebiscite on whether to elect a Congress before 1989.

Still, General Pinochet seemed to have picked an opportune moment for his declaration. The great street protests that rocked Chile last year have largely ceased. Although Communist strength, by all accounts, is growing, the opposition has split into 60 groups and lost steam.

General Pinochet came to power by overthrowing an elected Marxist President, Salvador Allende Gossens, in a bloody 1973 coup. The military followed up by killing, jailing and exiling hundreds of its most militant Marxist opponents. The worst abuses have ended, but as late as two weeks ago, the Government banished three top Communists to internal exile.

The three, including Luis Godoy Gómez, a party deputy secretary general, had been sent into exile several weeks ago but refused to accept asylum in other Latin capitals and returned home. Jaime Insunza, the party's

leader in the country, went into hiding.

The Government also issued warnings that Communists were planning to subvert "Day of Life" demonstrations called by Catholic Church leaders. The rallies last week turned out to be peaceful, with thousands of Chileans carrying candles and singing religious and anti-Government songs in front of local cathedrals. Picking up where the Government left off, the Independent Democrat Union, made up of conservative intellectuals, is petitioning for a permanent constitutional ban on the Communists. The military ban is temporary and the 1980 Constitution bans them after 1989 only by implication, declaring illegal all "totalitarian" parties that preach "class warfare." Meanwhile, an armed group of apparently less cerebral critics wearing ski masks broke into a Communist printing house in broad daylight last week and destroyed the presses.

Hewing to Moscow Line

Still, the Communists continue to gain strength in labor unions, the universities and the poor shantytowns that ring the capital and other cities, according to students and priests who work in the neighborhoods. "We are a reality," said Alejandro Toro, a Communist and former senator. "The more he attacks us, the more we grow." That is a reversal from the time just before the coup, when the Communists were widely discredited for having seized farms and businesses and causing much of the social chaos that brought in the military.

A 62-year-old organization that may be the strongest Latin Communist Party outside Cuba, it has stayed close to Moscow, where the party's exiled secretary general, Luis Corvalan, lives. It backed the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Af-

ghanistan and even the crackdown in Poland. Once considered peaceful and democratic, the party won 16 percent of the vote in 1973 as a partner in the Allende Government. But in 1980, after the Pinochet purge, it called for "popular rebellion" and upheld violence as legitimate; many of its old leaders thereupon resigned. Militants say the change was partly made as a defense against being outflanked by national revolutionary groups, as has happened to Moscow-affiliated parties in Cuba, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The Communists have gotten around their ban by forming a coalition called the Popular Democratic Movement, which also includes a branch of the old Socialist Party and the youthful Leftist Revolutionary Movement. The latter group, together with a recently emerged underground organization, the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front, claimed responsibility for many of the hundreds of bombs that have destroyed power pylons and other installations in recent months. The Communists have disavowed responsibility for these acts. Last year, leftist revolutionaries assassinated the former mayor of Santiago. Some of them later forced their way into the Vatican Embassy and obtained asylum abroad.

The Democratic Alliance, a centrist coalition that is the largest political grouping, has been bitterly divided over whether to include the Communists, because of their policy on violence. General Pinochet has moved to exploit the divisions, charging that the Christian Democrats, the largest party, have refused to "define" themselves on the issue. The coalition, however, is moving toward greater cooperation with the Communists. Last week, it attacked the proposed constitutional ban on the Communists as illegal and ineffective, asserting that outlaw status would only increase the party's romantic appeal.



Opponents of Chile's military Government demonstrating outside a cathedral in Santiago last week.

Associated Press

Washington's Priority Is to Fight Drugs Rather Than Communism

Leftists Pose Little Threat To Bolivia's Government

By MARLISE SIMONS

LA PAZ, Bolivia — Almost daily, the United States Embassy here hears rumors predicting that Bolivia is about to fall into the hands of international communism. Alarm is spread by local politicians and businessmen and reinforced by Latin American military envoys who find the current experiment in civilian democracy disturbing. Echoing these views, the daily newspaper *El Diario* complained recently that the United States was "looking on with indifference" while "the communists are advancing as much as the drug traffickers."

But American diplomats say they have found no substance to reports that scores of Libyans, Cubans, Nicaraguans and other unfriendly folk are preparing revolution. On June 30, the American Ambassador, Edwin Corr, even played a key role in blocking a military coup. Dissident army officers and narcotics policemen kidnapped the President, claiming they wanted to "clean out the Communists."

The Reagan Administration finds itself in an unusual role: Despite its strong commitment to fighting communism, in Bolivia it is supporting a left-of-center Government that includes two Communist Ministers and other officials who have been political exiles in Cuba and East-



President Hernan Siles Zuazo

Archives/Benjamin Porter

Government as its main hope of combating Bolivia's large-scale cocaine trafficking. During previous regimes, "top military leaders were up to their ears in the drug trade," a United States diplomat said, "and several drug rings had protection from the armed forces."

The power that enabled the military to become involved in narcotics was, to a good measure, an unintended result of United States policies. When Ernesto "Che" Guevara decided that Bolivia was ripe for a Cuban-style revolution, he drew Washington's attention

to this poor region in the Andes. Before he was killed here in 1967, Mr. Guevara learned that he was wrong.

But successive American administrations continued to act as if Bolivia were indeed vulnerable. The United States built up the weak military with training and matériel. From 1972 to 1976, it sent \$47 million of military aid and outfitted five army regiments, bolstering an institution that was adding to the record of coups and countercoups and which eventually assumed a major role in the international narcotics traffic.

Some Bolivian officers were even cited as criminals in Miami.

Bolivia thus joined the list of Latin countries where the United States has been embarrassed by officers it chose as political allies. In Guatemala, Chile and Argentina, among other places, American support in the 1960's helped promote military regimes that rejected United States influence in the 1970's. In Bolivia's case, Washington suspended all military and most civilian aid in 1980 and called home its Ambassador. Confidence was restored in 1982 when Hernan Siles Zuazo became the first freely elected President in 19 years. Since then, Bolivia has received close to \$230 million, including \$7 million for the military and \$5 million for drug enforcement, the linchpin of American policy. Last week, after long delay, the Government sent police and military forces into four cocaine-producing provinces.

Heritage of Dictatorship

The new democratic Government has been preoccupied with formidable obstacles. In the past year, it had to cope with near-bankruptcy, 1,000 percent inflation, general strikes, food riots, drought, floods, three coup plots and the kidnapping. Years of dictatorship prevented new leadership from developing. The three most important civilians, now in their 70's, were already leaders in the 1952 revolution. The three, the President, labor leader Juan Lechin and opposition leader Victor Paz Estenssoro have since become enemies. President Siles once confided that he allied himself with the Communists to use them against Mr. Lechin, who has already ordered four general strikes against Mr. Siles this year, including one just four days after the President's abduction. The ruling coalition is also weakened by infighting among its four left-of-center parties and other leftists.

American diplomats say there is no contradiction in supporting the Siles Government. "There are a lot of people out of step here with the Reagan Administration," one said, "but some act as a moderating influence on the President. We would gain nothing by pressing against the Communists here." It may be too early to say, but Washington's policy in Bolivia suggests that lessons may have been drawn from Central America, where repression of leftist opponents of the establishment ignited a violent guerrilla movement.

The Nation

Congress Moves On Women's Well-Being

Capitol Hill was much preoccupied last week with the welfare of women. The House at mid-week approved and sent to the White House a bill designed to force parents to make court-ordered child-support payments by providing for the imposition of liens on property whenever child support payments fall behind. Supporters of the legislation recalled that during hearings witnesses had said that 28 percent of mothers who were due such payments in 1981 had received nothing, and 50 percent received something but less than the full amount ordered by the courts.

Earlier, both houses — hustling toward the long recess that began Friday — sped to action on legislation making it easier for women to earn retirement benefits. Most of the provisions would apply to both men and women, but the bill was intended to revise guidelines critics say discriminated against women. Its main House sponsor was Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro of Queens, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee; President Reagan has already said he would sign the measure, known as the Retirement Equity Act of 1984. It would guarantee the pension rights of homemakers whose working spouses die before retirement and expand coverage for people who leave work to raise a family and then return.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, meantime, paused to reconsider the credentials of J. Harvie Wilkinson 3d, a university law professor nominated for a Federal appeals court. Several members of the panel complained that he had virtually no trial experience and his evaluation by the American Bar Association had been unduly influenced by lobbying joined by Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr., for whom Mr. Wilkinson once clerked. The Senate approved the lifetime appointment 58 to 39.

Second Opinions On Hatfield

Senator Mark O. Hatfield has maintained from the start that the \$40,000 his wife got from a Greek entrepreneur, Basil A. Tsakos, had nothing to do with his support of a oil pipeline project promoted by Mr. Tsakos. But last week officials of the Justice Department decided to begin an investigation and the Senate Ethics Committee said it would examine the matter.

The Senator, who heads the Appropriations Committee, had earlier

confirmed that he met with several Federal officials and foreign leaders to promote Mr. Tsakos' proposed \$10 billion pipeline to link Saudi Arabia with the Atlantic at Douala, Cameroon. But he said the payment to his wife wasn't connected to his lobbying. "My wife conducts an independent real estate business," Mr. Hatfield said. "There was not, is not and never will be any connection between her real estate dealings and my senatorial responsibility, including my support for a trans-Africa pipeline," he said. The Senator, an Oregon Republican who is seeking re-election to a fourth term this year, noted, further, that the income had been reported to the Internal Revenue Service.

At mid-week, The New York Times reported that former associates of Mr. Tsakos had, in sworn statements, told the ethics panel that they believed the money was a payment to the Senator and that Mrs. Hatfield, contrary to the Senator's statement, had not helped help Mr. Tsakos locate a \$500,000 apartment in Washington's Watergate complex. In an interview late in the week, the seller of the apartment, David Yerkes, said Mrs. Hatfield had had no role in the transaction.

Conviction for a Sitting Judge

In April, jurors in Federal District Judge Harry E. Claiborne's first trial couldn't agree on a verdict. Last week, in a Federal courtroom in Reno, he was convicted of filing false income tax returns for 1979 and 1980. He had been charged with underreporting by \$106,000 his income from his private law practice before becoming a judge. He could draw as much as six years in prison and be fined up to \$10,000. He was found not guilty of lying on a judicial disclosure statement.

The first sitting Federal judge convicted of a crime committed while on the bench, Judge Claiborne said he would appeal. "The measure of a man is how he handles adversity and I've handled everything else like that in my life head-on," he said. "I'll pursue the appeal and continue the fight until my name is cleared."

During the trial, the judge's attorneys claimed that he had been singled out for prosecution because of his frequent criticism of a Federal strike force based in Las Vegas. The prosecutors often portrayed Judge Claiborne as a man who had given up a \$375,000-a-year business on his appointment to the bench in 1978 and then discovered that he couldn't get by on his \$55,000 salary.

Michael Wright and Caroline Rand Herron

Smith Lectures Lawyers On Kremlin 'Lawlessness'

WHILE Government officials say they are convinced that the Soviet Union is a "non-political" forum, the Justice Department's two top officials went farther last week than most of their predecessors to lay out a political theme of their Administration. The forum was the American Bar Association's convention in Chicago; the theme was anti-Soviet.

Taking the A.B.A.'s newly pronounced goal of advancing "the rule of law in the world," Attorney General William French Smith and Deputy Attorney General Carol E. Dinkins contrasted the United States' adherence to the rule of law with what they described as Soviet contempt for it. Along the way they compared the present Government in Moscow unfavorably with czarist Russia.

Mr. Smith, speaking to more than 1,000 lawyers including bar leaders from 28 foreign countries on Monday, directly accused the Soviet Union of having forged threatening, racist letters that purported to be from the Ku Klux Klan to more than 20 African and Asian Olympic officials. He said the forgeries had been part of an unsuccessful effort to intimidate their teams and their countries into withdrawing from the Olympics. "They were not produced or sent by the Ku Klux Klan," he said. "They were instead manufactured and mailed by another organization devoted to terror: the K.G.B." He said they were "classic examples of a Soviet forgery or disinformation operation," of a type that must have been "approved by the Soviet Politburo itself."

Mr. Smith and Federal Bureau of Investigation Director William Webster both said they were convinced of the charge. But they de-

clined to make public the evidence they say convinced them. Mr. Smith said only that his conclusion was based on "a thorough analysis, including linguistic and forensic techniques." The Soviet Union said it was a lie.

Mrs. Dinkins' topic was a defense of the Administration's "color-blind" approach to civil rights enforcement. But she began by echoing Mr. Smith's theme, bridging her subjects by quoting Abraham Lincoln on the contrast between American ideals of equality and liberty and those of "Russia, where despotism can be taken pure." "In the years since Lincoln's plea for equality," she said, "American freedom has been painfully but greatly advanced. Russia, meanwhile, has become the Soviet Union, and it has gone from bad to worse: from an authoritarian to a totalitarian state."

One A.B.A. official said after Mr. Smith's speech: "I had a friend from a Latin American country who thought it was an undiplomatic speech to make to this group." But the speeches were well received by most lawyers at the convention, where hundreds of little American flags were distributed along with programs.

"We got a deal on flags," Wallace D. Riley, the A.B.A.'s outgoing president said jokingly when asked about them. He also said he was pleased at the withdrawal of a resolution criticizing the Administration's effort to block the World Court from deciding a suit initiated by Nicaragua. That country has charged the United States with aiding terrorist attacks against it, in violation of international law. "You don't just stand up and say your country is wrong until you've at least studied it," Mr. Riley said.

Out-of-State Contributions Are at Issue in Helms-Hunt Campaign

The North Carolina Race Goes National

By JOEL BRINKLEY

RALEIGH, N.C. — When North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt Jr. a few days ago asked Senator Jesse Helms to join him in a pledge to accept no more out-of-state campaign contributions, it's no wonder the Senator declined.

By most estimates, as much as three-quarters of Mr. Helms's campaign funds come from out of state, by and large from people who don't know a thing about flu-cured tobacco or Tarheel basketball. Meanwhile, Mr. Hunt, the Republican Senator's Democratic opponent, gets just over half his money from afar.

For the moment, their race — shaping up to be the most expensive Congressional campaign in American history — is a dead heat, most analysts agree; less than 10 percent of the electorate is believed to be undecided.

Although the widespread perception is that Mr. Hunt "won" their first televised debate two weeks ago, when it comes to motivating voters, Mr. Helms probably still has the edge. Many North Carolinians are clearly devoted to him.

Even though North Carolina is viewed as one of the most progressive Southern states, it is home to probably as many bedrock conservatives as moderates and liberals. Half the state's electorate admires Mr. Helms partly because he is a loud and frequent champion of their favorite issues. For example, even Mr. Hunt's supporters admit that Mr. Helms's vocal and vociferous opposition to the Martin Luther King Jr. national holiday last year won him points.

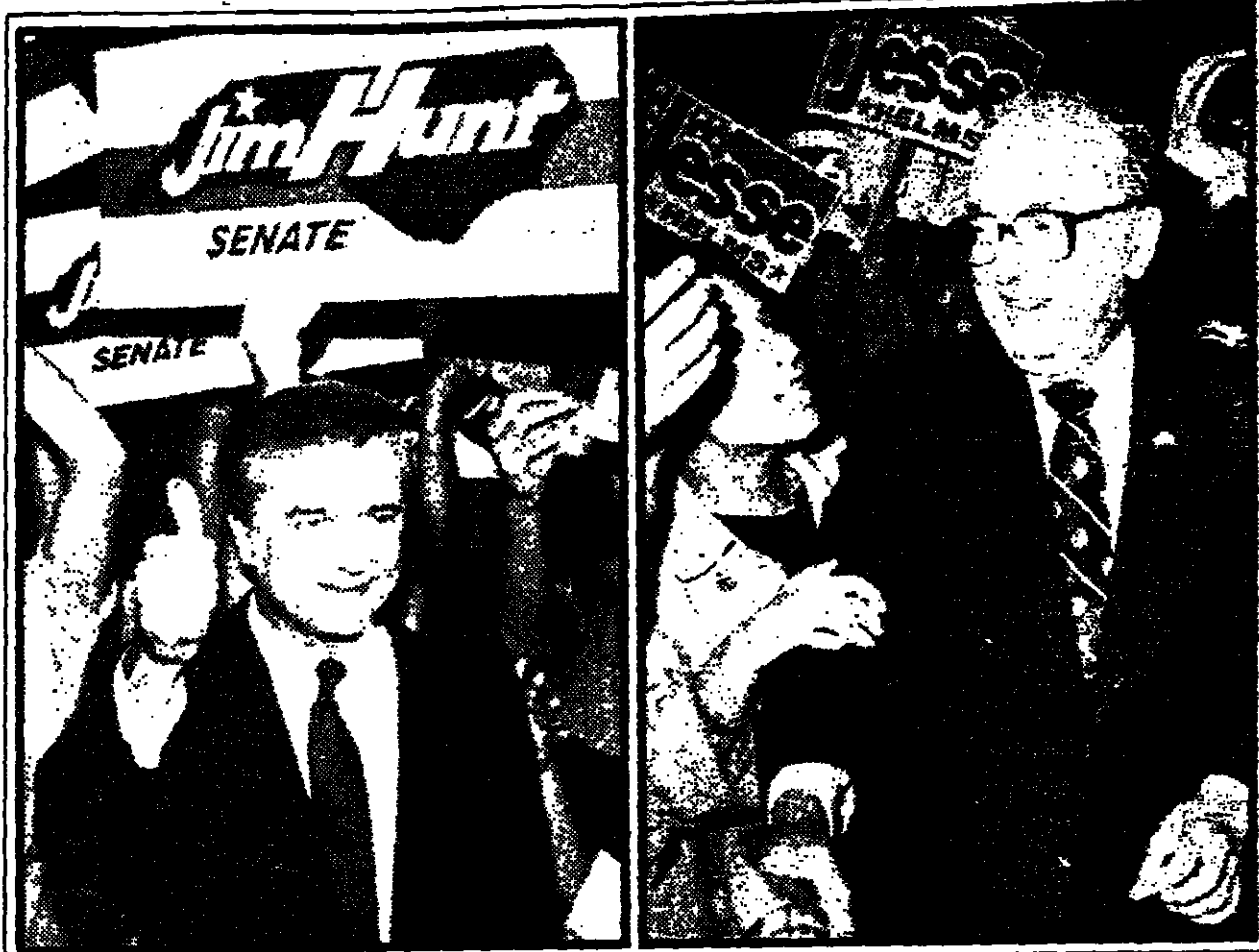
And part of the reason for Mr. Helms's support is his reputation, fostered and promoted by national conservative political action committees, as the most important political figure in the "new right" movement.

The National Conservative Political Action Committee, one of the wealthiest and best known of the fund-raising groups, may owe its very existence to Mr. Helms. His name on the letterhead during the organization's formative days "really got us started," said Craig Shirley, an official with NCPAC, as it is widely known.

Mr. Helms has long been willing to lend his name to a wide range of fund-raising appeals that fit under the "new right" political umbrella. The Rev. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, probably didn't intend it, but when he called Mr. Helms "a national treasure," the phrase had a double meaning.

Bob Heckman, chairman of the Fund for a Conservative Majority, said: "We polled our individual donors around the country about which Congressional races they wanted us to become involved in, and there was a tremendous outpouring of sentiment toward Jesse Helms."

But it is not the conservatives alone who are spending in North Carolina and profiting from Mr. Helms. He has come to be a gold mine for the



North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, right, is being challenged by Governor James B. Hunt Jr. in what may be the most expensive senatorial campaign in history.

left as well. Today, "Jesse Helms is to the liberals what Ted Kennedy is to the conservatives — he's a lightning rod," Mr. Shirley said. "They raise a lot of money on Jesse's name." Liberal political action committees of every stripe confirm that they have raised truckloads of money by beginning fund-raising letters with a particularly provocative quote from the Senator, such as his recent statements describing Roberto d'Aubuisson, the right-wing leader who has been accused of directing El Salvadoran death squads, as "someone who openly espouses the principles of the Republican Party of the United States."

"It's very effective," said an official with one such committee who asked not to be named. "I probably shouldn't admit it, but Jesse has raised a lot of money for us."

Victor Kamber, who directed the now-defunct Progressive Political Action Committee — he calls it "the liberal NCPAC" — says Mr. Helms is "the most effective and successful appeal as a fund-raising source we ever had." The problem, Mr. Kamber added, "is that he became the 'evil force' motivator for so many liberal direct mailers that it isn't working so well anymore. There is just too much of it out there now."

The League of Conservation Voters has found that its donors are still interested in the Helms-Hunt race. "It has never been the main theme of our fund raising," said Marion Edey of the League, "but we have cited him in our letters as

an example of the kind of man we want to defeat. It has been effective." Miss Edey said her organization has so far spent nearly \$25,000 in North Carolina, more than in any other state. Much of that has been invested in radio ads attacking Mr. Helms' record on environmental issues, which the League thinks is dismal.

Miss Edey points out that all decisions on how the League's money is spent on the campaign are made by a committee of "North Carolina environmental leaders." That is because she believes North Carolinians "are getting tired of people from out of the state thinking it is their election."

Mr. Hunt agrees with Miss Edey, though his motivations may not be entirely altruistic. As of June 30, he had raised \$6.1 million and had spent \$3.9 million. Meanwhile, Mr. Helms had raised \$8.4 million and spent \$5.8 million. During the debate on June 29, the Governor told Mr. Helms: "Let's let the people of North Carolina pay for this race. I really want this to happen."

Mr. Helms said he was perfectly happy with the present arrangement. "What's wrong with it?" he asked. "Are you having trouble raising out-of-state money?"

"Absolutely not," Mr. Hunt said. After the debate, the Governor promised to press the point, saying: "I hope Jesse will rethink his position and agree to do it." Recently, however, a spokesman for Mr. Helms said: "We've had nothing more to say on that."

Some Argue That Executions Have Reduced Homicides

Florida's Death Row Population Booms

By JESUS RANGEL

MIAMI — When Florida's death penalty statute was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1976 after years of litigation, state officials said the law would be a powerful weapon against violent crime. Since then, Florida has executed seven convicts, more than any state, and Florida's crime rate has in fact been declining.

There's considerable disagreement over whether the death penalty law has caused the decline. But one irrefutable consequence of the law has been a burgeoning death row population. With 221 condemned prisoners, Florida has the most crowded death row in the country, and the crowd is growing by 25 a year. The Department of Corrections estimates the number of condemned prisoners could grow to 300 by July 1986.

The agency plans to ask the Legislature for authority to build a separate facility to house the estimated 800 condemned prisoners expected — assuming the pace of executions does not accelerate sharply — by the year 2000.

Democratic Gov. Robert Graham, now in the middle of his second four-year term and widely known for the speed with which he signs death warrants, last week signed warrants for two convicted murderers. If carried out as planned, on Sept. 6, it will be the first double execution in the United States in nearly 20 years.

Opponents of capital punishment fear that once a double execution takes place, they could become routine, as they were before the Supreme Court effectively banned the death penalty. These opponents further argue that Florida's law is unfairly tilted toward execution. While a unanimous jury is required to convict, the law does not require a jury to reach a unanimous decision in recommending a death sentence. At the same time, judges can impose capital punishment on their own, overriding a jury's recommendation.

The death-penalty statute and other aspects of Florida justice have been widely attacked outside the state.

For instance, Chief Justice Rose Bird of the California Supreme Court recently criticized Florida for providing condemned defendants with legal assistance for appeals to the state supreme court, but not for subsequent appeals to the Federal courts.

According to public opinion polls, the death penalty law is popular among residents of Florida. Many of them seem particularly sensitive about their state's reputation, deserved or not, as the crime capital of the country. Violent crime for years pro-



Death row inmate, Florida.



Gov. Robert Graham

portionally exceeded that of New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles. Attorney General Jim Smith, a Democrat who strongly endorsed the death penalty in his successful election campaign, cites Florida's decreasing murder rate as evidence that the death penalty is a deterrent.

In 1978, when John Spinklink became the first prisoner to be executed in Florida under its revised death penalty statute, a total of 1,084 murders were reported by law enforcement agencies, with the murder rate pegged at 11.7 per 100,000 population. The rate increased to 14.5 in 1980 for a

total of 1,387 and to 1,523 the following year, when the rate was 15.1. But in 1983, it slipped to 1,202 to a rate of 11.4. That downward trend continues; Florida's Department of Law Enforcement said the number of murders reported during the first quarter of 1984 was down 16.2 percent from the first three months of 1983.

In an interview, Mr. Smith would not speculate about the number of condemned prisoners likely to die in Florida's electric chair this year and next, but he noted that recent Supreme Court rulings upholding death sentences mean that the rate will accelerate. "We're not going to see the floodgates opened up," he said, "but we are going to see a progression."

Crime was perhaps the premier issue during Florida's 1982 political season, and Mr. Smith, predicting that the death penalty would be a hot topic in this year's election campaigns, has offered to assist Congressional candidates who favor limiting the appeals that condemned prisoners can file with Federal courts.

Like law enforcement officials everywhere, Florida officials frequently blame the Federal courts for many of their difficulties. In particular, Mr. Smith says the appeals court based in Atlanta — which hears cases from Florida, Georgia and Alabama — has become a bottleneck. The judges, he said, are all too willing to hear cases that should be dismissed; by Mr. Smith's tally, the Supreme Court has overruled the Atlanta appeals court in three-quarters of the appeals involving death sentences imposed by Florida courts. Most are last-minute appeals hinging on issues such as competence of counsel, jury selection and the disproportionate number of blacks sentenced to die, he complained.

Henry Schwarzschild, who is director of the capital punishment project for the American Civil Liberties Union, which opposes the death penalty, takes exception. "What Mr. Smith should remember is that the whole notion of due process is not to make life easier for law enforcement agencies, but rather to insure that justice reaches those affected," he said. "Federal judges are no softer on crime than the Attorney General of Florida."

Brazil's Hard Life With Austerity

Its struggle to comply with I.M.F. rules for debt support disrupts business and the economy.

By ALAN RIDING

DURING one of their twice-yearly visits to Brasilia, economists from the International Monetary Fund this month will wade through reams of weighty documents in order to gauge the Brazilian Government's compliance with an austerity program worked out by the two parties late in 1983.

But a cursory glance at the country itself would provide them with ample evidence of the program's effectiveness: The economy as a whole is in its fourth year of recession, with much of industry struggling to stay afloat, while the living standards of all but a tiny elite are being eroded daily by inflation above 200 percent annually.

Signs of austerity are everywhere, from the street vendors competing for sidewalk space with derelicts in downtown Rio de Janeiro to the 300,000 construction workers who have lost their jobs in São Paulo. No sector has escaped. Wage cuts have prompted hundreds of the Government's best-trained employees to leave for jobs with multinational corporations. University budgets have fallen by 60 percent in real terms since 1981, prompting many professors to strike. Small companies that export oranges or shoes are flourishing, while auto makers, appliance manufacturers and food processors trying to sell their products to Brazilians are in crisis.

Flights to Brasilia from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are still full of businessmen. But a few years ago, they were arriving to compete for lucrative Government contracts; today, they come to plead for long overdue payment on those contracts, which were completed months ago.

For most Brazilians, then, "austerity" — the standard medicine prescribed by the I.M.F. for ailing third-world economies — requires no proving. For them, the evidence that



Illustration by Francisco Colares

That raised and still raises the question of whether the Government would have been forced anyway to impose unpopular austerity measures to revive the economy — even without the prodding of the I.M.F. The passions stirred in Latin America by the mere mention of the I.M.F. complicate the search for answers to this question.

The clouds began to gather over Brazil's economic "miracle" — its years of rapid economic growth and industrialization — as early as 1973 with the first sharp rise in world oil prices. But, despite its overwhelming dependence on imported oil, it chose to keep growing, depending increasingly on foreign borrowing to pay the oil bill. After the second oil price shock of 1979, however, a growing

estimated \$5 billion this year. But new "external" shocks awaited the country, principally when Mexico's financial collapse in August 1982 led nervous foreign banks to cut back on new loans here.

Brazil still did everything possible to avoid turning to the I.M.F. It argued that it was voluntarily taking all the necessary austerity measures, but merely needed "new money" to deal with "cash flow" problems aggravated by high interest rates. Only when foreign banks linked disbursement of this money to an agreement with the fund did Brazil's long-time economic czar, Planning Minister Antonio Delfim Netto, swallow his pride and call in the I.M.F.

The fund arrived with the same prescription it has applied in developing countries for the past three decades — to reduce the public-sector deficit and to record a trade surplus, large enough to finance foreign interest payments without excessive new borrowing. But to achieve these goals implied pushing the economy into a still deeper recession.

With no available alternative, the Government went about squeezing the economy into a different shape. Eighteen difficult months later, on the eve of the I.M.F.'s visit this month, Finance Minister Ernane Galvès was able to proclaim, "We're fabulous, aren't we?" because Government spending was down from \$19 billion last year to an estimated \$12 billion in 1984 and a \$6.1 billion trade surplus in 1983 should be followed by an \$11 billion surplus this year. Brazil was also up to date on its foreign debt interest payments — \$12 billion is due this year — despite rising interest rates, while the Government was confident of negotiating new postponements for payment of the principal on its \$93 billion debt maturing in 1985.

But Mr. Galvès's euphoria was shared by few Brazilians. In order to smother demand for imports and create the trade surplus, a "maxi-devaluation" of the cruzeiro early in 1983 and regular devaluations since then have pushed up the price of foreign goods. Cutbacks of public spending in a country where federal, state and municipal governments account

for 50 percent of the gross domestic product have further reduced demand, and, with the elimination of many subsidies, fed inflation.

Last October, overriding strong protests from Congress, the Government also directly attacked wages, permitting twice-yearly increases equivalent to only 80 percent of inflation during the previous six months. With real wages falling ever farther behind an inflation rate that exceeded 200 percent in 1983 and will do so again this year, the cycle was repeated: Falling demand and production created new unemployment, which in turn affected demand and production and so on.

Only businesses involved in exporting and substitution of essential imports flourished. For example, farmers producing oranges for export to the United States and sugar cane for use in the alcohol fuel program did better than ever, while shoe manufacturers were encouraged to find new markets abroad to replace those that had collapsed at home. But their impact on the economy was limited.

The automotive industry — as in the United States, a sector that is highly sensitive to economic cycles — has suffered badly, with sales of new cars down 18 percent during the first six months of this year compared with the same period last year. But more than just General Motors and Ford, with big factories here, were affected: Hundreds of smaller suppliers of parts and services were also forced to lay off workers and shut down assembly lines.

Similarly, tumbling demand for domestically made appliances and other electrical goods and processed food — down 15 and 11 percent, respectively, between January and June this year — had a multiplier effect that was felt sharply in commerce. Rather than close their gates permanently, however, many manufacturing companies have declared themselves technically bankrupt and have suspended payments on their cruzeiro debts. Nationwide, industrial production has dropped by 22 percent since 1980.

One unexpected consequence of the slump is that the national confederations of industry and commerce have recently begun campaigning against the Government's wage law, which has put the legal minimum wage at the equivalent of \$47 a month, about half its dollar value two years ago. The confederations argue that the law has deepened the recession without slowing inflation. "With wages losing 7 percent of their real value each month, how can we think about a recovery?" one businessman said.

The Government itself has not escaped the tide of a crisis, as the slump is known here. The budgets of such huge state enterprises as the Vale do Rio Doce mining company have been reduced by 15 percent, resulting in a slowdown of investment. In dollar terms, even the salaries of senior officials have fallen drastically, provoking a "brain drain" to better-paying jobs in multinational corporations. "The central bank must be working with its third team," one foreign bank representative complained. "You go in there and it's chaos, with papers piled high on desks. Many of the best people have deserted the ship."

Reductions of federal and state budgets have in turn affected myriad other areas. Federal universities have been on strike for the past two months because the Education Ministry cannot meet the wage demands of professors who already "moonlight" to make ends meet. Three months ago, doctors in several states struck for the same reason.

Brazil's social fabric has been particularly strained in congested urban areas. In São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, unemployment — one million youths reach working age each year, but few can find jobs — has spawned an unprecedented crime wave which has brought home the reality of the crisis to the middle

The Economy

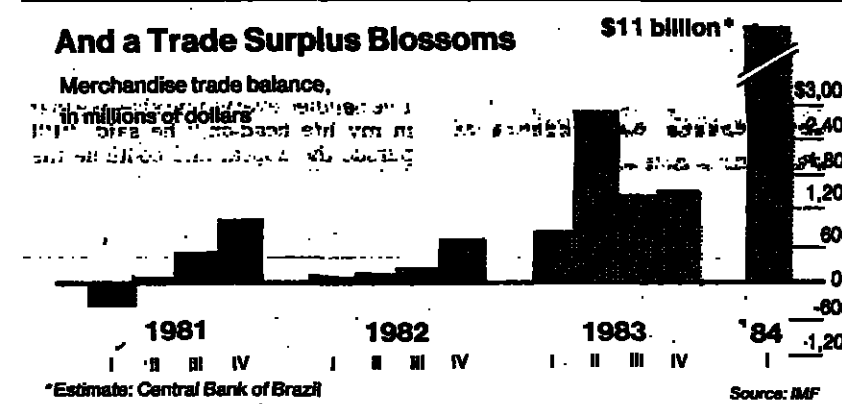
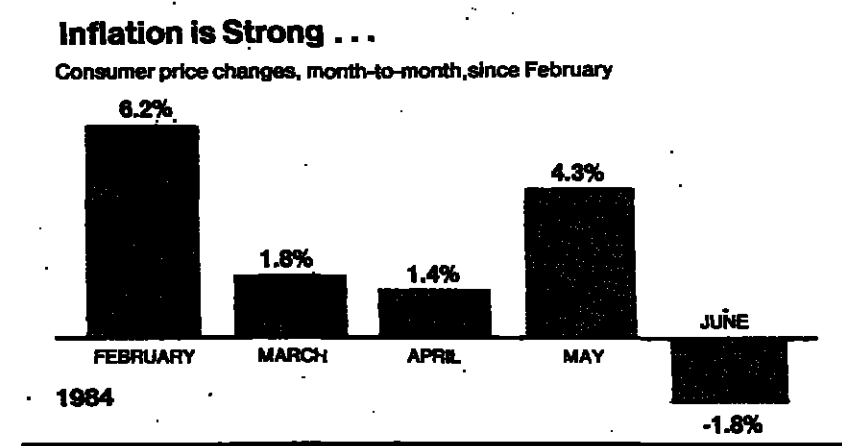
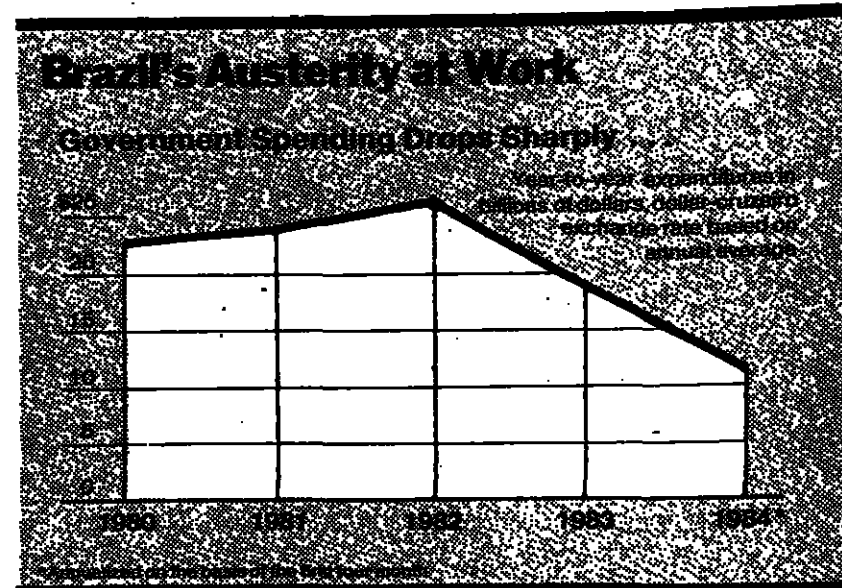
classes. They, too, have been forced to cut their spending — from trips abroad to visits to the movies — but the assaults and robberies have created a siege mentality and added to class tensions.

One recent morning, three men dressed in the uniforms of municipal bus drivers climbed on a bus in Rio de Janeiro and announced they were unemployed. The passengers immediately feared they were victims of a "routine" bus assault. "Look, we have children to feed," one said. "We don't want to rob or assault, but we need money. Whatever you can give

fered from these problems even in the boom years.

At all levels, then, since Brazil turned to the I.M.F., its social crisis has worsened, but is this an unavoidable consequence of a "stabilization" program? In a recent article, the I.M.F.'s Managing Director, Jacques de Larosière, implicitly denied responsibility by noting that "the fund cannot take upon itself the role of dictating social and political objectives to sovereign governments."

The institution would support financially squeezed governments willing to limit domestic consumption, in-



will help us." Another man then passed around a shopping bag and most passengers dropped in the equivalent of a nickel or a dime.

In the absence of welfare payments for the unemployed, others who have lost their jobs — including not a few white-collar workers and professionals — improvise an income by selling everything from kites to candies on the streets, swelling an "underground" economy that includes many wives making clothes or shoes at home for sale to friends and relatives. The Government puts the unemployment rate at about 13 percent.

The reduced real wage — the \$47-a-month minimum is about one-third of what is considered necessary to support a family of four — have brought increased malnutrition and related ailments to a country that suf-

crease domestic savings and expand exports, he said. "It is up to you, within the framework of macroeconomic parameters negotiated by mutual agreement, to arrange your own social and political priorities."

Clearly, the I.M.F. cannot be blamed for the economic troubles that force governments to appeal for its help. But once it becomes involved, many Latin economists believe it is unrealistic for the fund not to participate in setting the "social and political priorities" required to preserve stability during a period of austerity. This feeling is particularly strong in countries like Argentina where new civilian administrations are trying to consolidate democracy in the midst of economic disorder and meeting stiff public resistance to austerity measures.

Clouds began to gather over Brazil's economic "miracle" as early as 1973 with the first sharp rise in oil prices.

Brazil is being "governed" from abroad is overwhelming. Even in the two areas of special interest to the I.M.F. — Government spending and exports — the country is behaving well, pushing up exports at the expense of domestic consumption and spending less on a variety of Government programs. But Brazilians have yet to see the rewards — the economic recovery — promised by the I.M.F. in exchange for the sacrifice that is permitting the country to keep up with foreign debt payments.

Brazil is a good case study of how an austerity program works, not only because of the country's size and complexity and its disciplined and successful response to the I.M.F. of late, but also because the impact of austerity is dramatically visible throughout Brazil. Moreover, at the time the Fund entered the picture, Latin America's largest nation had already undergone two years of recession and tumbling per-capita income.

current account payments deficit forced the Government to retrench by cutting back Government expenditure and imports.

Like many developing countries, Brazil had required a high level of imports — and a permanent trade deficit — in order to sustain its rapid economic expansion during the 1960's and early 1970's. With the oil crisis, it was forced to accept a slower growth rate to keep the trade deficit under control. It achieved this partly by slashing imports needed for growth, including machinery and raw materials for its new factories, and partly by stimulating exports through a currency devaluation. The devaluation also fed inflation and eroded local purchasing power.

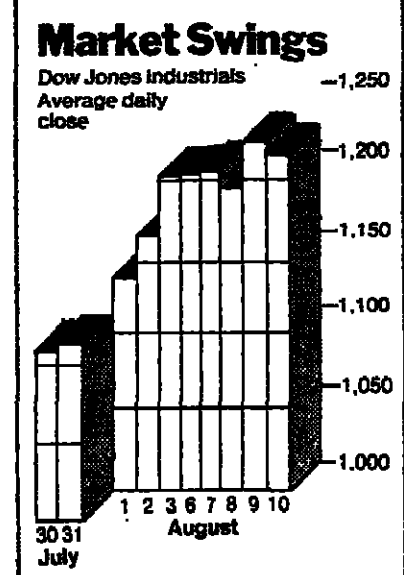
The 1979 oil price rise had one salutary effect in that Brazil was at last prompted to invest heavily in developing alcohol as a gasoline substitute and in increasing domestic oil output. As a result, five years later, Brazil's oil import bill has fallen by half, to an

WEEK IN BUSINESS

A Second Big Week for Wall St.

Frenzy, confusion and panic buying continued to mark Wall Street last week, as stock prices cooled down, then roared ahead and cooled down again on Friday. Volume on the Big Board broke all records for the second week in a row, with 754.4 million shares changing hands. Institutions continued to dominate the buying, apparently not wanting to miss out on a rally that has seen the Dow jump more than 100 points in two weeks, but individuals did join the action more. After torrid trading on Monday and Tuesday, Thursday looked like a slow day until trading exploded late in the day. Friday saw a continuation of the last hour with the Dow surging 22 points in the morning. But the rally weakened and by the end of the day the Dow had lost six points, to end the week at 1,218.01, up almost 16 points on the week.

Strength in the bond market was a big stimulus for the stock market. Amid falling interest rates and rising bond prices, investors snapped up more than \$16 billion in Treasury offerings last week. Adding to investor confidence about the future course of interest rates, the money supply took a surprisingly large \$2.6 billion drop for the latest reporting week. M-1 now stands below the middle of the Fed's target range, signaling that the Cen-



tral Bank will at least not tighten its monetary policy.

Turbulence. The airline industry felt the effects of investor skittishness, when People Express announced that it would begin a Chicago-Newark route for \$59 to \$79 one-way. The new fares, almost 70 percent below existing coach prices, are likely to touch off a fare war with the big carriers, which include United, American, Delta and T.W.A. Fare-war fears pushed airline stocks

lower, but prices recovered somewhat later in the week on the market's strength. Pan Am posted a \$49.8 million loss in the second quarter, compared with a \$10.4 million loss a year earlier.

National Semiconductor promised to mend its ways and not sell untested chips to the Government. The chip maker, which was charged with violating U.S. testing rules, agreed to set up an independent unit that will monitor all its Government work and insure that all chips are properly tested. In return, the agency agreed to stop attempts to block National Semi from getting Government contracts and return the company to full contractor status.

Strike Two, Trilogy Ltd., the creation of Gene Amdahl and once a darling of Wall Street, has abandoned its second major project in three months — the design and marketing of a high-speed superchip. Mr. Amdahl said the "wafer-scale" semiconductor, which is the equivalent of about a hundred chips in one large silicon wafer, had proven too costly. He said Trilogy would instead concentrate on designing and assembling circuit packages for large computer companies. In June, it dropped work on its super computer project.

Inflation Blip. After three months of holding steady, prices at the pro-

ducer level rose in July by three-tenths of one percent. The jump was sparked by the first increase in food prices since March. But economists said the rise showed that inflation was still in check.

Deficit Adjustments. The Congressional Budget Office lowered its projections for the nation's budget deficits for fiscal years 1984 and 1985. Citing recent tax increases and spending cuts, it now sees a \$172 billion shortfall in fiscal 1984, growing to \$178 billion in 1985. Its January estimate called for a \$189 billion and \$197 billion deficits in the two years.

Fed Chairman Paul Volcker suggested that certain Latin American nations — particularly Mexico and Venezuela — had made substantial economic gains recently, that they were on time with their interest payments and that bankers might now consider offering more favorable credit terms an extended maturities. But he added in Congressional testimony that such favorable treatment should be granted on a case-by-case basis. Mr. Volcker also said that he sympathized with the idea of interest-rate ceilings on Third World loans, but declined to offer any detailed suggestions to the Congressmen.

Merrill Lynch plans to buy the struggling brokerage firm of Becker Paribas for \$96.9 million in new stock.

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED AUGUST 10, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
AT&T	11,120,900	19 1/2	+	1/2
Merlyn	10,082,400	31	-	1/2
IBM	9,880,000	121	+	1 1/2
Fed NM	8,808,000	14 1/2	-	1 1/2
Ford M	8,681,000	45 1/2	+	2 1/2
N Semi	8,654,300	15 1/2	+	1 1/2
Am Exp	8,447,200	32 1/2	-	1/2
Mobil	8,368,900	27 1/2	+	2 1/2
Exxon	8,338,900	41 1/2	+	3
Chrysler	7,897,900	30 1/2	+	1 1/2
G Mot	7,742,200	75 1/2	+	3 1/2
Phib S	6,461,700	30 1/2	+	1/2
AMR	6,408,000	27 1/2	-	3
Sears	5,502,800	36 1/2	+	1 1/2
Gen El	5,425,000	57 1/2	+	1
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	191.9	182.6	188.0	+3.80
20 Transp	144.1	135.7	139.4	Unch
40 Util	69.2	66.8	68.2	+0.58
40 Financial	17.0	16.1	16.7	+0.38
500 Stocks	168.5	160.8	165.4	+3.07
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1259.7	1184.9	1218.0	+15.93
20 Transp	847.2	805.3	819.5	- 6.13
15 Util	130.4	123.9	128.3	+1.88
65 Comb	485.3	460.3	471.7	+3.24
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED AUGUST 10, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg	
WangB	4,838,700	29 1/2	-	2
TIE	3,008,500	14	+	2 1/2
AMot	2,799,700	19	+	2 1/2
ImpGp	2,049,900	2 1/2	+	1/2
Amdahl	1,441,000	11 1/2	-	1/2
BAT	1,168,300	3 1/2	+	1 1/2
DataPd	1,096,100	20 1/2	+	1/2
NPInt	927,100	25 1/2	+	2 1/2
NY Times	874,200	37	-	1 1/2
Verbitn	771,100	9 1/2	-	1/2
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
1,461	1,838	2,261	177	59
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
High	Low	Last	Net	Change
113.7	109.3	111.9	+2.49	
90.2	85.1	87.1	-0.29	
48.9	45.7	46.6	+0.39	
88.8	86.0	88.4	+1.62	
96.5	92.7	95.0	+1.86	
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	113.7	109.3	111.9	+2.49
Transp	90.2	85.1	87.1	-0.29
Util	48.9	45.7	46.6	+0.39
Finance	88.8	86.0	88.4	+1.62
Composite	96.5	92.7	95.0	+1.86
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
496	303	913	55	40
VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	754,806,714	14,419,277,164		
Same Per. 1983	378,005,778	13,464,185,751		
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
496	303	913	55	40
VOLUME (4 P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	50,922,040	941,921,715		
Same Per. 1983	31,536,065	1,423,725,189		

The New York Times

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Romeo and Juliet in Germany

All that backstage commotion in central Europe is now erupting into a once unimaginable spat between Soviet and German Communists. The East Germans, having dutifully sacrificed a pot of gold medals at Los Angeles, refuse to humor the Russians again by also passing up gold loans from West Germany. And despite fierce Soviet pressure, Erich Honecker is holding to his plan to be the first East German leader to visit Bonn, next month.

Gold, however, may be the least of it. There's a larger flirtation between the Germanies, even though both know remarriage is impossible. Contrary to most calculations in Washington and Moscow, the Germanies are straining to bridge the gulf that history has dug between them.

Hitler's thunderous quest for *lebensraum* — more living space — is what brought Germany to ruin and left it, and Europe, divided into Communist and democratic zones. Most non-Germans have since figured that these divisions are permanent and stable. But Germans, East and West, now talk passionately about *spielraum* — more room for maneuver between the superpowers who divided their country.

West Germany, having paid its NATO dues by admitting new American missiles this year, is scurrying to lavish credits upon East Germany and to form new links that could survive if not dispel the Soviet-American storms overhead.

This West German yearning for an Ostpolitik aimed at détente is hardly new; it was invented by Willy Brandt's Social Democrats, some of whom would now pursue it clear out of NATO. What's decided now is the enthusiasm for Ostpolitik among West Germany's pro-NATO conservatives. They are discovering national emotions even deeper than a desire for profitable East-West trade.

Still more startling is the reciprocal enthusiasm

of East German Communists. Having warned of an "ice age" if the NATO missiles were planted on their frontier, they've been most unglacial ever since. Indeed, they've muttered objections to the Soviet missiles on their soil and are welcoming détente even as Soviet propaganda paints West Germany as daily more satanic.

Mr. Honecker has packed carefully for the trip West. He has a new \$300 million credit from West German banks that the Russians call dangerous honey. In return he's promised to let thousands of East Germans follow the 30,000 already allowed to move West this year. He's also letting more West Germans visit relatives in the East. And he's permitted cables to bring in clear pictures off West German television for the East German regions that felt left out of the nightly broadcast reunion.

All in all, East German officials are unmistakably proud of Moscow's denunciations of their "independence." And if Mr. Honecker makes his defiant trip West, he'll gain stature also in Hungary and Rumania, which have been cheering him on.

West Germany, meanwhile, is unashamed of the red carpet it's prepared for him. Chancellor Helmut Kohl has been reading up on his guest's youth in the Saar region and claims to be impressed by the nationalism that moderated Communism even then. And Franz-Josef Strauss, Bavaria's erstwhile cold warrior, has bestowed his blessing after a tour of the East with a case full of credit offers.

It's easy to make too much of all this, but dangerous to make too little. The Germans hunger to feel united even if they must live apart. And by purging the dream, or nightmare, of "reunification," they think they've found the way to maneuver around the superpowers. These stirrings could be seen as the final steps of accommodation to a bitter defeat. More likely, they're the first faint steps toward the unknown by people who think it was their fathers, not they, who lost World War II.

Working Parents Can't Stop

After three employees of the Praca Day Care Center in the Bronx were arrested for sexually abusing children, an angry mob of New Yorkers surrounded the building. Police had to extricate the six employees trapped inside. Yet three days later, after more charges of abuse, some parents brought their children back. "Why stop the whole world?" one mother said. "We've still got to go to work."

It was safe to assume, of course, that the center's position in the limelight made it unlikely that her son was at risk. Nonetheless, she might have preferred to keep him at home — but that could have put her job at risk. Most children in day care are there because their parents are working, or looking for work, or in school or training.

New York's 385 city-funded centers look after 42,000 such kids. Although the city sustained an \$18 million cut in Federal day-care funds three years ago, it made up the difference with city money. Upstate, only 10 percent of poor children under 6 receive subsidized child care. In New York City, it's 20 percent. The city's commitment to day care, then, has been commendable, which is all the more reason to lament the reports of abuse at Praca and other centers.

Child molesters have many faces. They can be parents, or neighbors, or the man in the adjoining movie seat. It's not surprising that they may show up on the staff of a day-care center. To make sure

they don't, the city's Human Resources Administration, now cleared of charges that it tried to cover up the Praca incidents, needs more authority.

A private day-care agency can't find out if a job applicant has a criminal record, even if, like Praca, it works on contract for H.R.A. Governor Cuomo, however, has promised legislation to provide access to such information, while protecting prospective employees' civil rights and privacy. Although abusive day-care workers must be reported to a central state registry, other day-care centers have not had access to the registry. A bill signed this week will remedy that omission as of Oct. 1.

H.R.A. can take other steps on its own. Although community-sponsored centers like Praca must have a parent advisory council, for example, parents are too little involved. That involvement should not only be welcomed but sought.

The agency is also planning more classroom observation, and more site visits from H.R.A.'s educational consultants. It intends to better alert parents and faculty to signs of sexual abuse, and has started giving safety lessons to the children.

When an H.R.A. official was asked recently about California's McMartin Pre-School molestation case, she replied, "But that couldn't happen here." Events, she says sadly, appear to have proved her wrong. The challenge now, quickly, is to make her right again.

New York's Quality of Life

When Nobody Cares



Twelfth Avenue and West 56th Street.

The New York Times / Neal S. Rosen

Letters

America's 'Athletic Imperialism'

To the Editor:

Tomorrow I will be returning to my native country, Sweden. As usual, my stay in your country has been pleasant. But unfortunately it has been marred this time by the conduct of the present Olympic Games.

Having attended the Games in past years in other nations, I note with regret the crass commercialism that surrounds this Olympiad. This includes not only how people in Los Angeles have tried to turn a large profit on visitors to their city. It also includes the rather unsavory reports on your television stations.

If the Soviet Union and its vassal states had participated, the distribution of medals would have led to a far more restrained view of U.S. success. Without them, Americans have been given a rather false view of their nation's ranking in international sports.

But far worse are the political implications. You will pardon me for making the following comparison:

Your country's recent military operation in Grenada was not reassuring to Europeans, although it may have provided the American public with a reassurance about their country's military strength. From a European perspective, it was a rather pathetic exercise of power. There is unfortunately something of the same caliber in the Olympics. Your newspapers and television networks trumpet the achievements of each Amer-

ican medal winner, a policy that further erodes the value of the Olympics as a competition among athletes.

But I wonder whether your public has any awareness of how this appears to the rest of the world. The achievements you magnify simultaneously emphasize the peripheral quality of competitors from other countries, as well as the countries themselves.

To use a word that I hate, this is a form of athletic imperialism, made all the worse since it heightens that American tendency of being oblivious to the feelings and attitudes of allies. You cannot imagine how insular a people you are. This has been clear in regard to understanding the very real differences we Europeans face in being members of NATO.

Your inability to treat others as equals shows in the faces of the myriad of smiling U.S. competitors at Los Angeles. There can be no doubt about their sincerity, but it is this unexamined feeling of superiority that will later appear in international councils, when your representatives, so convinced about the righteousness and goodness of your motives, cannot comprehend the diverting views of others.

Such was one of the failures of ancient Rome. Such is the failure of your country as embodied in the insularity of news coverage of U.S. Olympic success.

GÖRAN GUSTAFSSON
New York, Aug. 5, 1984

Let Bert Lance Speak Up Again

To the Editor:

It's time to free Bert Lance.

Ever since the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco, the ephemeral general chairman of the Mondale-Ferraro campaign has been forced to hunker down in the Deep South and refrain from opening his mouth, except to resign his position.

Now it's up to Walter Mondale to play by the rules and face the fairness issues by giving the loyal, hard-working Lance his inalienable right to comment on the campaign from time to time. There is even some question whether President Carter's erstwhile budget director is free to move about and talk to the press.

Perhaps the best way to solve this quandary is for Mondale to send Jesse Jackson to Calhoun, Ga., and let him employ his diplomatic prowess in an effort to negotiate the unmuzzling of Lance, if that indeed is still the problem.

Ironically, there are innumerable superactive co-chairs in the campaign who are permitted to speak out frequently at Democratic political gatherings. For the party bigwigs to continue to silence the man who courageously bore the title, but not the role, of general chairman for 19 miserable days is inhuman.

JACK POPE
Co-Chairman
Equal Rights for Bert Lance
San Francisco, Aug. 4, 1984

Nuclear Winter: A Doomsday Concept's Strategic Implications

To the Editor:

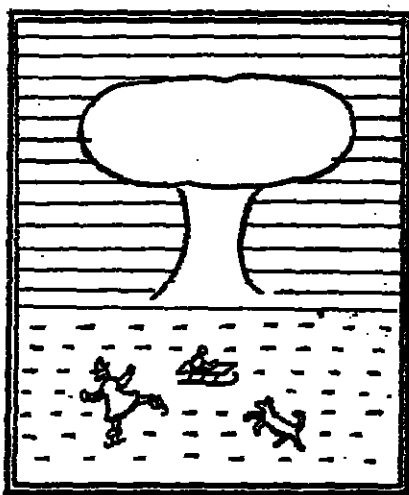
The nuclear winter concept advanced by Turco, Toon, Ackerman, Pollack and Sagan [news story Aug. 5], if truly descriptive of the outcome of as little as a 100-megaton exchange of nuclear weapons, seems to lead logically to a number of strategic implications:

• All delivery systems for nuclear weapons are now obsolete. All that is necessary for any nation to achieve nuclear deterrence (or nuclear blackmail) is the capacity to detonate 100 megatons of devices on its own soil. A site may be chosen for this doomsday weaponry where prevailing winds would carry the light-blocking dust over other nations first, but this would not affect the outcome.

• Unilateral (or bilateral or multilateral) disarmament to this minimum number of devices for a nuclear winter doomsday is finally a strategic reality rather than wishful thinking.

• All missile defense is obsolete, except for unknown new technology that might prevent a nuclear opponent from exploding his own devices on his own turf. The defense motto would become "Let them try to figure out how to stop us in our own backyard!"

• The neutron bomb, which is anti-personnel and doesn't kick up much dust, becomes the preferred weapon (and can use the otherwise obsolete delivery systems). Any nation could



Martin Bishoff

threaten retaliatory doomsday by nuclear winter, however.

• "Star Wars" nuclear duels — "shoot it out up there" — become the new thermonuclear gaming sphere and outlet for rivalry. Potential con-

trol of space would permit pre-emptive strikes against nuclear winter doomsday installations if insufficiently hardened.

• An "ecology race" to develop a "stratosphere sweep" is inevitable, because a nation in possession of it could invalidate the nuclear winter doomsday threat, preferably after other nations have disarmed to the minimum. (If this sounds fantastic, we might recall that at one time the containment of oil spills and the seeding of clouds with iodine crystals were merely a dream.)

• Ironically, the concept of unilateral introduction of a nuclear winter makes a nuclear exchange sound more limited and manageable, with the result that the bomb-shelter and food-storage survivalist ethic becomes more attractive, in which the goal would be to outwait a primarily climatic period of crop shortages rather than a radioactive interval. Semantically, to paraphrase Shelley, if a nuclear winter comes, can Spring be far behind?

Then again, Turco, Toon, Ackerman, Pollack and Sagan may be mistaken.

DAVID V. FORREST
New York, Aug. 5, 1984

Deregulation Priority

To the Editor:

I found your Aug. 3 editorial "Who Shall Own How Much TV?" a welcome departure from previous editorials endorsing broadcast deregulation, repeal of the fairness doctrine and the Federal Communications Commission's erroneous hoopla that new communications technologies make standards for and limits on the industry unnecessary.

However, your isolated opposition to repeal of ownership limitations ignores the fact that public needs transcend this one issue. The "cultural, political and financial implications" of deregulation that you draw attention to should be examined prior to other major changes in policy.

DONNA A. DEMAC
New York, Aug. 3, 1984

The writer is staff counsel at the United Church of Christ's Office of Communications.

The Flaw in Social Security's 'Catch-Up'

To the Editor:

May I ask a moment of your readers' time to walk through the recent decision of the Senate to act on the President's proposal to give a cost-of-living adjustment to Social Security recipients next year?

The first thing to be said is that the Senate's action will have no significant long-range cost to the trust fund. This is the view, for example, of Robert J. Myers, for 23 years chief actuary of the Social Security Administration and executive director of the President's National Commission on Social Security Reform.

It helps to be an actuary to explain this, but allow me to try.

Twelve years ago, in 1972, Congress decided to set in place automatic cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security benefits. However, such adjustments would be skipped in years

when the price index rose by less than 3 percent (which is happening this year for the first time since the provision went into effect).

As much as anything, this was done to save the bother of reprogramming the then-antiquated computers. Congress provided, however, that a "catch-up" would be made in which ever subsequent year the cumulative price rise passed 3 percent.

One result of this approach is that people retiring in a year in which a 3 percent "catch-up" COLA does occur will receive a double adjustment, that for the year in which they retire and for the previous year or years in which they were not retired. This double adjustment continues for the rest of their lives and their survivors' lives also.

All this is a bit technical, but the central fact is simple. The present system overpays some recipients, i.e., those who retire in a year following one or more for which the cost-of-living adjustment has been postponed. Call it double-dipping. The simple solution, especially now that we have a much-improved computer system, is to give a cost-of-living adjustment each year that prices rise. I have introduced such legislation, as has Representative Barber C. Conable Jr., also a member of the President's Commission.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN
U.S. Senator from New York
Washington, Aug. 7, 1984

A Choice by Jim Fixx?

To the Editor:

No one can argue the logic regarding the indications for medical supervision in the case of Jim Fixx. However, to dismiss his refusal to do so as "foolish," as you did in your Aug. 1 editorial "Deadly Refusal," is unfair.

Jim Fixx probably made a value judgment on how he chose to live, and how he chose to die. He died with his jogging shoes on, running free.

EDITH CALMENSEN
New York, Aug. 1, 1984

High Time to Coordinate Airlines' Schedules

To the Editor:

That plane scheduling is exceeding the capacity of airports (news story Aug. 6) comes as no surprise to those of us who have experienced unconscionable delays in our attempt to travel by air. One obvious solution is to improve coordination of schedules by airlines, an action that at present is restricted by antitrust laws.

When the public's interest is at stake, coordination with the affected industry should not only be permitted, it should be encouraged. Participation in deliberations to that end by government agencies or public interest groups can reduce whatever negative

impact the lessening of competition may bring about.

Some years ago, the automotive industry attempted to combine research and development efforts to meet the pressing need for reducing carbon monoxide emissions; it was prevented from doing so by a successful antitrust action. In this instance, the public's interest — as measured in time and cost — may have been better served if joint efforts had been allowed.

There is a lesson here for the airline industry: Antitrust considerations ought not blind us to the public's interest.

LINDA STAMATO
New York, Aug. 6, 1984

Pageant's Proper Action Against Miss America

To the Editor:

For all its faults, the Miss America Pageant was not hypocritical, as Stanley Feingold argues (letter July 28), when it defrocked Vanessa Williams.

The pageant, he says, "offers itself as almost the last bastion of traditional values." How, then, could it condone an affront to them? President Harding did worse, and so do movie stars who enjoy undiminished adulation from fans? Yes, and against them the pageant asserts the traditional values. Racism is worse? Obviously the pageant combats this too.

Modeling for pornographic pictures is "a minor indiscretion at most"? This is simply to propose new values. The pageant is preoccupied with sex? What of it? So is Women's Wear Daily. The difference is as essential as that distinguishing a museumgoer's intention from a Penthouse reader's.

There was here no judgment on the present character of Miss Williams.

The pageant acted with a view not to retribution but the influence of others. In publicly expressing her regret and resigning, Miss Williams, for her part, gave a stronger lesson to young women than any other Miss America.

GILBERT B. ARBUCKLE
Quincy, Mass., Aug. 5, 1984



The New York Times Company

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IN THE NATION
Tom WickerTaxes and
Spending
(2)

Felix G. Rohatyn, the well-known New York investment banker, observed in *The Wall Street Journal* on May 18 that the private sector was "turning the financial markets into a huge casino."

The speculation craze, he wrote, had even changed the vocabulary of business: junk bonds, two-tier tender offers, Pac-Man and poison-pill defenses, crown-jewel options, greenmail, golden parachutes. And he caustically described the process of "leveraged buy-outs" as follows:

"A public company with, say, \$100 million of debt and \$300 million of equity is turned into a private company with \$300 million of debt and \$100 million of capital... exactly the opposite of what our national investment objectives ought to be."

Yet, Mr. Rohatyn suggested that perhaps \$10 billion in leveraged buy-outs already had taken place. And his is only one voice suggesting that U.S. corporations are engaged too much in nonproductive speculation and not enough in job-producing new enterprises.

That's not just irresponsibility, in the opinion of Frederick C. Thayer of the University of Pittsburgh. He argues that the world economy is "glutted with industrial capacity" so that too many sellers chase the same buyers and business leaders lack promising markets in which to invest. The speculative spree noted by Mr. Rohatyn is one result.

Mr. Thayer sees the Great Depression as a consequence of similar overexpansion and glutted markets; it was relieved in the United States, in his view, not by the minor deficit spending of the New Deal but by the major deficit spending of World War II, which also destroyed European and Japanese industrial capacity. Given that circumstance, the American economy, fueled by wartime Federal deficits that rose above 25 percent of gross national product (compared with 5 percent today), roared out of the war into decades of stable growth.

Now overcapacity again drags down the world economy, so that corporate investment in new plants only

Breaks for
business
resulted in
speculation,
not growth

adds to unneeded capacity. But the conventional wisdom, echoed even by Walter Mondale, is that taxes have to be raised to cut the deficit, reduce Government borrowing and make more credit available to the corporate sector.

Mr. Thayer and the liberal economist Stanley K. Sheinbaum, among others, reject the idea of a "capital shortage" preventing corporate investment and causing the United States to fall behind in economic development. "The hundreds of billions of dollars in loans to Brazil, Mexico, Zaire and Poland, and the hundreds of billions of dollars used for mergers and acquisitions... should make it clear that there has always been sufficient capital," Mr. Sheinbaum argues.

Yet, he contends, the nation's recent "mind-set" has been "to redistribute income regressively... or to provide tax incentives or subsidy to the corporate sector" in order "to provide the capital to become competitive once again." That was the rationale of the Reagan tax cuts; and almost half the Federal deficit today results from tax breaks for business.

This "mind-set" holds that if the private sector is encouraged to invest in new plant and equipment, it will provide employment and create markets. But what industry more often does, Mr. Sheinbaum says, is "buy T-bills and/or existing firms," a considerably less risky—and productive—investment policy.

Mr. Sheinbaum advocates instead putting "purchasing power into the hands of those who will spend it on electric irons, typewriters, clothing, food, heat" and the like. That, he argues, will create demand and markets to which business will respond; "the combination of increased consumption plus the resulting increase in productive investment will cause the economy to boom."

These arguments sharply raise the question, Why increase taxes (taking purchasing power out of the hands of potential consumers) in order to reduce the deficit (again taking interest, wage and profit income away from many Americans) so that the corporate sector will be able to borrow more money, when the evidence is so strong that much of the money it already borrows is used for mergers, takeovers and Treasury bills?

Maybe, as will be discussed in another article, the corporate sector ought to be "crowded out" of the credit markets for a while, as the Government makes long-term productive investments and expands purchasing power and markets, through deficit spending. □

How Do Catholics Vote?

iel Patrick Moynihan, Governor Mario Cuomo and Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro, all of New York, they are not about to infringe on what they take to be the freedom of conscience of others. There is a segment of the Catholic population, perhaps 5 percent, that is vehemently dedicated to the pro-life cause. No one needs to deliver this group into the Reagan camp: It is already there. The rest of the Catholic population will vote, as it has done in the past, on economic and political issues—as do most other Americans.

Perhaps the pro-life forces are correct. Maybe Catholics should follow the apparent dictates of some church leaders and cast their votes on Nov. 6 with only the abortion question on their minds. I will leave those questions to moral and spiritual theologians. As a sociologist, all I can say is that it won't happen.

Moreover, I am baffled that at this end of the century columnists, editorial writers, television commenta-

It seems
unlikely
Archbishop
O'Connor
is spoiling
for a fight

tors and political reporters think that it might. Are not the sorts of data I have cited available to everyone? Is it not self-evident by now that Catholics are offended and insulted when church leaders try to deliver their vote? The bishops are not able to dictate contraceptive practices to nuns, tens of millions of American Catholics. How are they going to control, even if they wanted to, Catholic voting?

Then why all the sturm und drang about Mrs. Ferraro's stand on abortion? I sometimes wonder if the continued intolerable ignorance of the national press and television concerning the political and religious responses of American Catholics is not proof of a subtle but profound institutional anti-Catholicism.

Is American politics facing a conflict between church and state? If Archbishop John J. O'Connor of New York seriously tries to rally Catholic voters against Governor Cuomo and Senator Moynihan, you'd better believe there will be a fight. The rockets that the Archbishop sent up even before he came to New York—his comment that he didn't "see how a Catholic in good conscience can vote for a candidate who explicitly supports abortion"—seemed to be aimed at Mr. Cuomo and Mr. Moynihan, and would seem to apply now to Mrs. Ferraro, too.

But I rather doubt that the confrontation will occur. It seems to me unlikely that the Archbishop is actually spoiling for a fight with any of these politicians. If he is, he will lose, and the prestige and influence of the hierarchical office—locally and nationally, already much less than meets the eye—will be the more diminished.

In calling the Archbishop to account for this remark, Governor Cuomo resisted what appear to be crude and insensitive ecclesiastical pressures as a matter of his own Catholic conscience. He also realized, one suspects, that public resistance to such apparent pressures will only win him more support from non-Catholics uneasy about the power of the institutional church—also much less than meets their eyes—and from Catholics who are weary of political humping by their leaders.

Like Mayor Daley, and unlike most of our political observers, Governor Cuomo seems to understand that no one, but no one, tells American Catholics how to vote.



Illustrations by Charles Bragg

Religion
Comes
First

By Joseph Sobran

observations on the whole population? Orthodox Jews propose to do no such thing—but virtually all of them oppose the Governor on abortion. There is a clear difference between ritual disciplines within one faith and universal moral obligations recognized by people of many faiths. It is the difference between abstaining from meat and abstaining from murder.

The state's bishops recently said: "We fail to see the logic of those who contend, 'I am personally opposed to abortion but I will not impose my personal views on others.'" They called this the equivalent of a pre-Civil War legislator saying: "I am personally opposed to slavery, but I support the right of others to hold slaves if they choose."

Mr. Cuomo is an active "pro-choice" advocate. He is not just for tolerating abortion in the name of "conscience" but also for coercive taxation that diverts Catholics' earnings—never mind what happens to their consciences—into the pockets of abortionists. Some "choice."

The separation of church and state presupposes a boundary between the two realms. It cannot mean that the state may invade areas formerly outside its authority while demanding that religion meekly move out, leaving what the theologian Richard Neuhaus calls "the naked public square." Mr. Cuomo crudely reverses the facts when he accuses the church of acting

"more aggressively than ever before." The aggression is on the side of the state.

In what serious sense can he be "opposed" to abortion? Nobody could infer from his voting record that he is a Catholic. He himself boasts that his public record shows no embarrassing trace of Catholicism. Why then does he speak publicly of his religion so often? Is he not, in fact, trying to enlist the unwary loyalties of Catholics while serving interests of a very different sort?

Mr. Cuomo is fully as combative as Mayor Koch, with this difference: Mr. Koch doesn't aim his fire at rabbis and Jewish leaders he claims fellowship with. He doesn't tell Jews they can best contribute to a pluralistic society by hiding their distinctive Jewish concerns, even if these concerns are shared by many non-Jews. Jews don't think they contribute by acting "non-Jewish."

Worst of all, the Governor, who is proud to be the son of an immigrant, attacks New York's Archbishop in the accents of 19th-century anti-Catholic nativism. Would any truly loyal Catholic publicly accuse a Catholic prelate of "insisting that everybody believe what we believe"? Governor Cuomo's invocation of old fears and prejudices against his own church is, to say the least, unfilial.

Other groups may live out pluralism by asserting their diverse special concerns. But Catholics, in the Cuomo version of their faith, must serve pluralism by suppressing the very things that make them meaningfully Catholic.

On Thursday, the nation's bishops spoke: The United States Catholic Conference rejected the view offered by Governor Cuomo, Geraldine A. Ferraro and others that one's "personal" view of abortion is irrelevant to public policy. For Catholics, that should suffice. □

Not as
Pawns
Of the
Church

By Andrew M. Greeley

GRAND BEACH, Mich. — In 1976, when he and Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter were being hassled by pro-life demonstrators, Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley, in the voice of an incredulous schoolmaster that he used to explain political truism to the press, said that Catholics would not make their voting decisions on the abortion issue. "They don't vote that way," he observed, closing the discussion.

He was right. Candidate Carter may have been "softer" on the abortion issue than President Gerald R. Ford, but he received a solid majority of Catholic votes.

Yet the nation's political observers did not learn the obvious lesson: The Roman Catholic voter is neither an unthinking pawn in the hands of his hierarchy nor a mindless bundle of conditioned reflexes that automatically responds to the stimulus of the abortion question.

I do not believe that religion will be an issue in the 1984 election except among journalists. It will not be an issue for two reasons:

First, Catholic attitudes on abortion do not differ from those of white Protestants. Second, the Catholic church leadership cannot deliver the votes of most Catholics on abortion or any other issue.

Consider attitudes toward abortion as measured in a recent national survey done by the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center:

Some 52 percent of American white Protestants think that abortions ought to be available to a woman whose health is seriously in danger, as do 84 percent of black Protestants. As many as 85 percent of Catholics

For most,
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central

agree. On a different question, 83 percent of white Protestants believe abortions should be possible for rape victims; 75 percent of black Protestants agree. The same position is endorsed by 80 percent of Catholics. On the other hand, only 30 percent of each group approves of abortion on demand—"for any reason a woman has."

Most American Catholics and Protestants, in other words, have a nuanced—some people will call it inconsistent—stand on abortion. Neither the pro-life nor the pro-choice ideologies are likely to be pleased with this pattern because such a carefully calibrated response is unlikely to affect voting behavior.

Catholics may not approve of abortion personally, but, like Senator Dan-

Andrew M. Greeley, a Roman Catholic priest, is professor of sociology at the University of Arizona and is on the staff of the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.

The Democrats' Stake in '84 Bordeaux

By Verne W. Newton

WASHINGTON — Forget about the Ferraro factor, Central America, Texas, the polls, deficits and debates. Why become preoccupied with the irrelevant? The inescapable fact is that events in France, not the United States, will determine who wins in November. In vino veritas, in wine there is truth, and the truth is this: When Bordeaux wines have a good vintage year, the Democrats win. When they have a poor one, Republicans win.

This curious but unshakable link first became apparent in 1856, when one of France's most dismal postwar vintages was followed by Dwight D. Eisenhower's landslide re-election. The obligatory exception to the rule was gotten out of the way in 1960, a disastrous year for Bordeaux. Amazingly, John F. Kennedy won anyway—Cook County being impervious to any laws except those uttered by Mayor Richard Daley, who didn't like wines, especially French. But since then, the trend has been unbroken.

In 1964, a great year, Bordeaux earned a 17 rating out of a pos-

sible 20 and Lyndon B. Johnson reaped his landslide. In 1968, after excellent years in 1966 and 1967, Bordeaux suddenly plummeted to a deplorable 6, catapulting Richard M. Nixon into the White House. Things looked good for the Democrats in 1970



Verne W. Newton has a modest wine collection of good vintages.

and 1971 as the vintages skyrocketed to incredible 19 and 18 ratings. In Paris, they confidently predicted 1972 would be one of the greatest vintages ever, and in this country Democrats around the nation started boasting, "Anyone can beat Nixon."

Then disaster struck. Too much rain and lingering cold caused the whole French wine market to come crashing down, taking George McGovern and the Democrats with it.

The magnificent 1975's—earning a 19—were followed by a very solid 16, good enough for a Jimmy Carter victory. (No wonder the French were bewildered by what they considered the excessive importance we attached to Watergate.) It looked as if the Democrats were on a roll with a superb 19 in 1978 and a robust 17 in 1979.

This, combined with the fact that no party in this century had lost the White House after only one term, was the only source of optimism for the beleaguered Georgia crowd. But you remember what happened in 1980. The luckless Jimmy Carter fell victim to a late rain that washed precious bacteria off the grapes, and 1980 ended up the worst vintage in the last nine. And so, of course, Ronald Reagan marched into the White House.

Now that you know all this, how can you make it work for you? The beauty of this system is that the crucial months are August and September—and this provides a decided advantage. It means you can get your money down on a sure thing.

Here's what to look for. If France has a hot, dry August with a little bit of rain at the end followed by mild September days—the kind of days politicians think were made for them—talk a lot about fairness and the gender gap. Things will be looking very good for the Democrats.

But if August brings too much rain and is unseasonably cool, or if it is a cold, wet September, you can take up golf and ridicule with impunity the idea of a woman in the Oval Office.

Above all, watch the key indicator: the day when the French authorities declare the grapes mature by issuing the *bon de vendange*—the proclamation of the harvest—which means that the grapes can be picked. If it comes in late September, after weeks of agreeable weather, cash in the college trust fund and the Individual Retirement Account and put everything you've got on the Democrats. In fact, if the picking starts on Sept. 26, start naming your offspring Walter and Geraldine: It could be a landslide.

Burton's Last Role: A Supportive Father

By ROBERT CUSHMAN

When Richard Burton died suddenly last Sunday in Geneva, he had just finished filming scenes in London for what turns out to be his last role — a pivotal, though not a dominating part in "Ellis Island," a CBS-TV miniseries that will be shown sometime next season and in which the actor appears with his 26-year-old daughter, Kate Burton. Earlier last month, Mr. Burton and his daughter had been interviewed about the experience of their working together.

Mr. Burton, displaying paternal pride, had confessed in his dressing-room trailer at the Shepperton Studio. "On the first day of acting with Kate, I was so nervous I cracked up. When I looked at her face, it was so similar, the bone-work was so like mine, it was frightening. It took us half an hour to get over that. And then she just sailed through the scene, like a beautiful yacht."

Miss Burton had observed that it was her belief she had inherited her father's "sensibilities" about acting, which she summarized, in a phrase he would undoubtedly have endorsed, as "not taking it too seriously but still working very hard."

In a phone conversation shortly after her father's death, Miss Burton said, "He was incredibly supportive without being vocal. He let me do my own thing. He said, 'I think you're a wonderful actress on your own and you don't need any help from me.'"

She did cite one instance when her father had cautioned against her tendency to overact toward the end of what had been a tiring day before the cameras. "Don't be too theatrical," he had said, "Use your fatigue."

The actress also recalled how her



Kate Burton kisses Richard Burton, who plays her father, in "Ellis Island," a forthcoming television miniseries.

father had summed up the characters they were each portraying in "Ellis Island." "You're playing a person with no humor and I'm playing a pompous ass," he had said, hoping that they might be cast more sympathetically "next time, perhaps."

Such irreverence was, of course, typical of Mr. Burton. "I have never played a small part before," the actor had commented further. "A day off

bewilders me. What can they be doing without me?"

But although Mr. Burton's role is small, it is not simply one of those guest-star cameos; the character keeps turning up. "I'm here, there and everywhere," he had stressed.

Ellis Island, of course, long served as the point of entry — or of dismissal — for would-be immigrants to America. The script for the seven-hour

mini-series was adapted by Fred Mustard Stewart from his best-selling novel of the same name, which recounts the fortunes of four Europeans who arrive, steerage, in the New York of 1907. The sizable cast of the television dramatization also includes Faye Dunaway, Claire Bloom, Peter Riegert, Ann Jillian, Melba Moore, Milo O'Shea and Ben Vereen.

Mr. Burton, however, had not been cast as one of the scenario's immigrants; he portrayed a rich and ruthless United States Senator who marries a successful actress, also not an immigrant (played by Miss Dunaway). The Senator has a daughter (Miss Burton); both fictional wife and daughter become romantically involved with an Italian immigrant, Marco Santorelli (Greg Martyn).

Mr. Burton and his daughter Kate (by his first wife, Sybil Williams) first acted together last year in "Alice in Wonderland" on American public television: she in the title role, he as the White Knight. It was a rare television appearance for him. This spring, Mr. Burton was in England, filming "1984," in which he played the interrogator O'Brien, when Kate telephoned him about "Ellis Island."

"She said," the actor had recalled,

"she was playing a leading role in this TV thing and that they were going to ask me to play her dad." Miss Burton had, in fact, been the first performer to be cast for the project. When, three weeks later, CBS told her that "we've cast your dad," her initial reaction was "wary." Her next was that it would be great to work together — "While we're both young."

Many years ago, Mr. Burton did a John Osborne piece ("A Subject of Scandal and Concern") for the BBC; in 1952, he made his American video debut as Marjorie in a live presentation of Eugene O'Neill's "Anna Christie." June Havoc played Anna; at one point, Miss Havoc missed an entrance cue. Left alone on camera, Mr. Burton decided to fill the time by smashing a chair. The staging called for him to do just that later in the play anyway, and the prop master had provided an especially smashable chair. At this juncture, however, the actor picked up the wrong one, and viewers coast-to-coast were treated to the sight of an anguished Mr. Burton trying to cover by struggling with an unbreakable prop.

A different kind of trouble befell his more memorable television role as Winston Churchill in the 1974 dramatization of Churchill's war memoirs, "The Gathering Storm." Prior to the airdate, Mr. Burton had written an article for the Arts and Leisure section of The New York Times on what the experience had taught him. "I realized afresh," he wrote in part, "that I hate Churchill and all his kind. . . . They have stalked down the corridors of endless power all through history." He accused Churchill of desiring the genocide through blitzkrieg of the German people and expressed special scorn for his writing: "Churchill's use and misuse of the language he loved so much and his contortion of syntax were so acute that I thought I was going to go mad trying to figure out what the hell he meant."

The article provoked a torrent of letters to the editor, some supportive but most bewildered or indignant. The protestors included some of the program's own production team. According to them, Mr. Burton had given every sign of liking the man he was playing.

It is possible that his depiction of Churchill may be eclipsed by another forthcoming television portrayal: that of the German composer Richard Wagner in the film of the same

name, as yet seen by very few but already famous for its nine-hour length and its stellar cast, which also includes Laurence Olivier, John Gielgud and Ralph Richardson.

Miss Burton's career consists so far of Yale Drama School, a couple of productions on Broadway (the short-lived musical "Doomed," "Present Laughter," with George C. Scott, and "Alice in Wonderland") and a stab at Juliet in Riverside Park. Her father's career encompassed more than 40 films, nearly all of which he said he had enjoyed making, few of which came out as he had hoped they would when he read the scripts, and only seven of which he admitted to having seen — at command performances, from which he could not very well have absented himself.

Of those few, he had noted that the 1969 "Staircase," in which he and Rex Harrison played a homosexual couple, to be the only one he liked watching ("I thought I was good for the first time"), though on second thought he had also cited "Where Eagles Dare," which, somehow, he had seen twice: "That was fun." He hadn't mentioned another war adventure, "The Wild Geese," although he was about to embark on a sequel to it in the near future.

In addition to his numerous films, there were, surprisingly, 60 plays; surprisingly, since Mr. Burton had the reputation, especially in Britain, of being the theater's great lost actor. Still, he said, "I am not as at home on film as on the stage."

Throughout the interview last month, Mr. Burton had mentioned the name "Elizabeth" warmly and casually. His most recent professional reunion with Elizabeth Taylor had occurred last year in a revival of Noël Coward's "Private Lives," which was greeted by unanimously dismissive reviews and invariably full houses. It was the latter to which Mr. Burton had first pointed when defending the production. He added that he did prove, to his own satisfaction as well as to his own surprise, that he could play Coward.

"I'd thought that lightness of touch alien to me," he said. "I got laughs in the right places." Nonetheless, he admitted to "doubletakes Noël never have done." Of Miss Taylor, whose performance was the more critically abused of the two, he gallantly said, "Elizabeth is a genuine clown."

Conductor Zubin Mehta Plans To Go Home to India Again

By HAROLD C. SCHONBERG

Some years ago Zubin Mehta was quoted as saying that he would never conduct any orchestras in India or Russia, countries hostile to Israel. Now he is taking the New York Philharmonic on a tour of the Far East, partly sponsored by Citi bank, N.A., that will begin in Tokyo on Aug. 15 and culminate with five concerts in Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay, ending Sept. 18.

Inconsistency? Change of heart? Mr. Mehta has been known to say things in the heat of the moment and then retract them. When he was music director of the Los Angeles Philharmonic he had some nasty words to say about the musicians of the New York Philharmonic, in effect charging them with being a spoiled bunch of prima donnas, nowhere near as good a group as his. He would not marry the Philharmonic if it was the last orchestra on earth. Some years later he stood before them, an invited guest. He apologized handsomely — handsomely enough to become its leader not long after that.

The other week Mr. Mehta, spoke about India, Israel, music and politics. He was sporting a grey-flecked beard. When he had to cancel a series of concerts last season because of a tennis elbow, his right arm was in a cast and he could not shave. So he let his beard grow. His mother does not like him thus. "She won't talk to me," Mr. Mehta grinned.

He was excited about the trip. It is not the first time he will be conducting in India. Born in Bombay 48 years ago, Mr. Mehta left when he was 18 to study in Vienna. It was not until 1967 that he returned, as conductor of the touring Los Angeles Philharmonic. Since then he has visited India several times with his family.

He popped off about India in 1978, over disagreements between him and the Indian government about a tour with the Israel Philharmonic, of which he is lifetime conductor. At that time he angrily said that he would never conduct in India until it recognized Israel. Now he has calmed down a bit.

"I can't hold the New York Philharmonic responsible for my statements," he said. "And when it came down to it, I could not conceive of an Asiatic tour without going to my own country."

His roots in Indian life and culture run deep. He described the forthcoming visit as "more nationalistic than religious." Though I am religious. My temples are only in India. When I am in India I go to the religious ceremonies. I am a Parsee, and we are brought up to practice the symbols. Our religion goes back to Zoroaster 4,000 years ago. He taught the difference between right and wrong, and it became the religion of the Persian empire. I love India, and it is important for my spirit to go back. I feel I belong so much. When I land in Bombay it's like I never left. I never even changed my passport, though I could have become a Swiss citizen some years ago. Today there are about only 90,000 Parsees in the world. We are dwindling."

Aside from his spiritual involvement, there is another reason why Mr. Mehta is anxious to conduct in India. He wants to bring Western music there. India, unlike Japan or even the resurgent China, is not a country that has not shown much interest in Western classical music. It has few orchestras and has not produced instrumentalists or singers who figure in the international scene. But of one thing Mr. Mehta is positive, and that is the response of the Indian public to the music he is going to bring. He believes that Indians will respond to Beethoven, Wagner, Bach and the other composers he will be conducting. "There's a public, that's for sure," he said.

For many years Mr. Mehta has been much more allied professionally to Israel than to his native country. The lifetime conductor of the Israel Philharmonic, he spends several months each year there and is constantly taking the orchestra on tour (only last month to Austral-

ia). He finds in Israel a people whose beliefs are close to those he learned as a Parsee.

"I first visited Israel in 1961, and I felt so much at home," he said. "It even looked like home. The people reminded me of my own people. They are like Parsees. They, like us, have kept a racial identity. Israel is my country, almost. I am so much a native there that I can be very critical. When I disagree with Israeli politics I argue with the Israelis." He has picked up some Hebrew in his years with the Israel Philharmonic, but mostly he talks Yiddish there, with complete fluency.

Last year it was announced that Mr. Mehta's contract with the New York Philharmonic had been extended to 1990. As of today he has been with the orchestra for seven years. He has not been receiving a uniformly favorable press. It should be hastily added that few Philharmonic conductors in recent decades have received a favorable New York press. Mr. Mehta's predecessor, Pierre Boulez, had a hard time of it. Before Boulez, Leonard Bernstein was the favorite whipping boy of the New York critics, who felt that the Bernstein ego was getting in the way of his music. And so back to Dimitri Mitropoulos and, in the 1930's, John Barbirolli.

Nobody, in or out of the New York Philharmonic, disputes Mr. Mehta's professionalism. But in many critical circles there is a feeling that Mr. Mehta is more concerned with color and effect than with substance; that he can be inconsistent; that his strength is mainly in the big Romantic showpieces rather than in Beethoven and his predecessors.

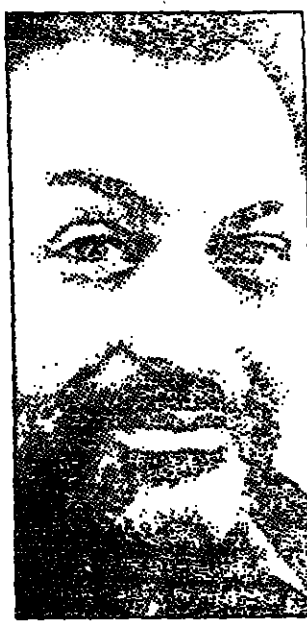
Nor have the Philharmonic players wholeheartedly accepted him. They like him well enough as a person. They admire his clear beat and general technique. He does have his supporters in the orchestra. But there are also those who feel that he is not particularly inspiring musically. Of course, it can also be said that the Philharmonic, like any major orchestra, contains some 30 or 40 players who think they can do as well or better on the podium than any of the maestros who address them. Top orchestra musicians can be very critical of their conductors. And the New York Philharmonic is, for better or worse, generally conceded to be an unparalleled bunch of prima donnas who individually are brilliant players but collectively are a pain in the baton.

On the other hand, musical administrators in New York look on Mr. Mehta with a great deal of respect. "I know that some think him a rather superficial musician," says one respected figure who prefers to remain anonymous. "But the man is a real pro. And he is genuinely interested in the orchestra. Other conductors give the impression that they are interested only in their own careers. Mehta is committed. He has the ears of his players; he personally attends all auditions when there is a vacancy in the orchestra; he works well with management. He is a good man for the orchestra."

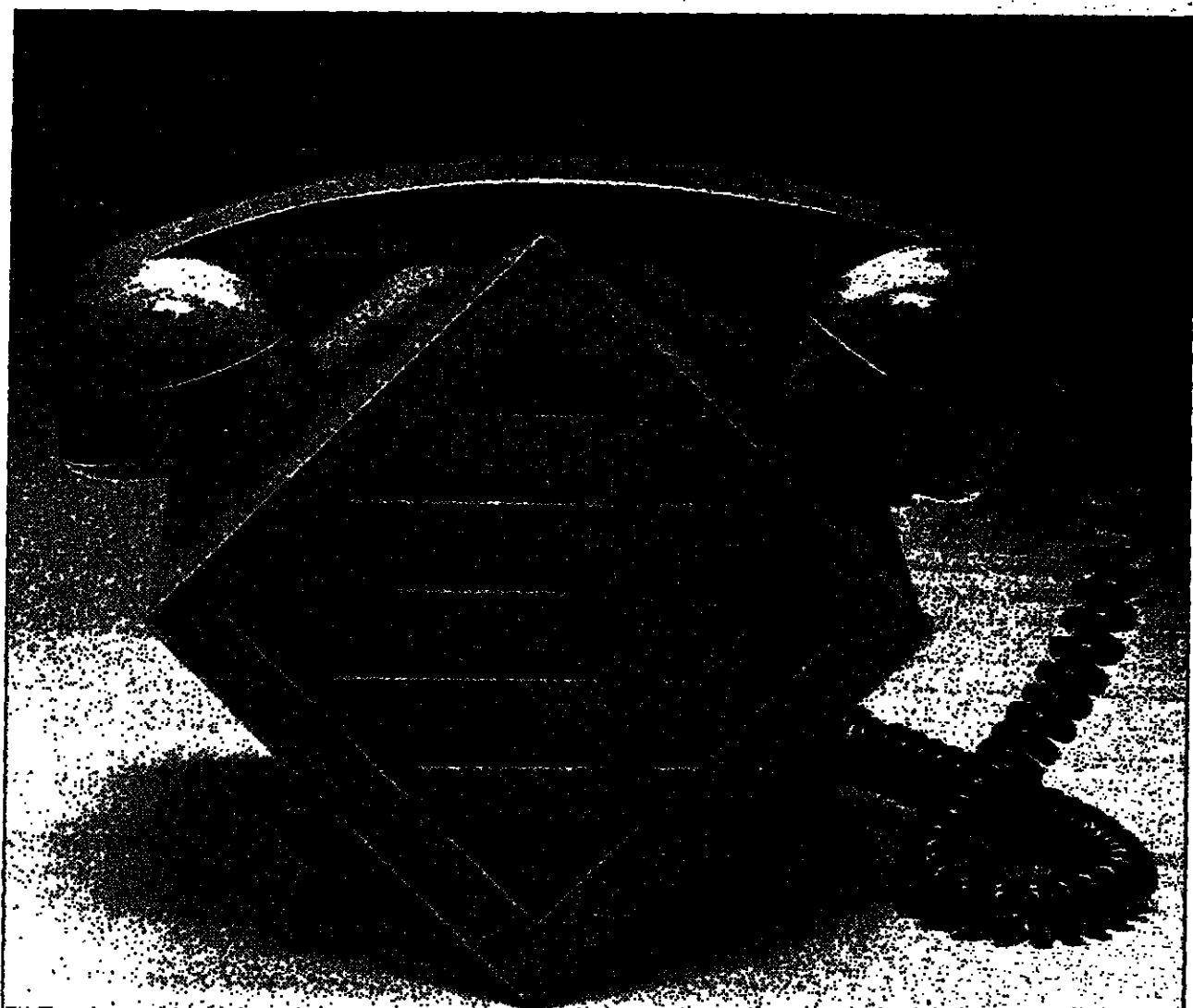
Mr. Mehta shrugs his shoulders at criticism. He insists that honest criticism never bothers him. What he does not like is snobishness in criticism. He thinks that too many critics today are too anxious to parade their knowledge, and he has little respect for those of that type. Not long ago he conducted a contemporary piece of music that he thought was sheer junk, and could not understand one critic who went to three performances of the work, wrote voluminously about it and never mentioned the other pieces on the program. That, he says, is just bad journalism.

He knows, with mingled irritation and amusement, that many regard him as a glamor-boy conductor, and for the life of him he cannot figure out why. He considers himself a serious musician who has mastered his scores. He has very few platform mannerisms — certainly nothing along the podium acrobatics of a Leonard Bernstein. He always comes out soberly, does his stint, takes his bows and retires. He does not try to get into the news, though there was the picture of him semi-nude, standing on his head against the wall in a yoga position. It made an awful lot of newspapers and magazines.

"I am an Indian, so I do yoga," he said, dismissing the subject. "I spent 16 years in Los Angeles building up what I thought was a pretty good orchestra. I was too busy to be a glamor boy. But there were those reports about me, and those stories about the orchestra calling me 'Zubi, baby.' Nobody ever called me 'Zubi, baby,' and the writer who first used the expression later admitted to me that he had made it up. I don't have the time to be a glamor boy. I give five months a year to the Philharmonic, three months to Israel, do at least one new opera production a year [he had just returned from a series of "Aida" performances at Covent Garden, in a new production by Jean-Pierre Ponnelle], and take a month off. In 1987 I will have a sabbatical for the calendar year, and will conduct the Philharmonic only on an American tour. Perhaps I can do more opera that year. I love to conduct opera."



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Bodies of Tamil prisoners found in police station rubble

COLOMBO (AP) - The bodies of 19 suspected Tamil separatists were reported recovered yesterday from the rubble of a police station in northern Sri Lanka devastated by a bomb explosion.

The bomb exploded on Saturday when a group of Tamil militants went to the Chunnakam police station, 15 kilometres outside Jaffna City, to rescue Tamil prisoners arrested in a government crackdown on an insurgency that began August 4.

Unofficial but reliable sources said the prisoners, whose number was not known immediately, were left behind when police evacuated the station on Saturday. The station was attacked twice by rebels last week.

The sources, who asked not to be identified, said the explosion took place when the rescuers attempted to break into the police post.

They said about 500 civilian volunteers found four bodies in the debris on Saturday and 15 more yesterday. The search for victims continued yesterday.

The United News of India, quoting eye-witnesses, reported that some of the bodies had their hands

tied behind their backs and mouths plastered. The report could not be confirmed immediately.

In a press statement, the Defence Ministry confirmed the blast but said the bomb was planted by "terrorists" and that 11 persons were killed.

UNI said no security or police personnel had reached the police station to investigate the explosion.

The ministry's statement also confirmed a reported rebel attack on soldiers on a highway near Jaffna, capital of the Jaffna province where Tamil separatist guerrillas are fighting for an independent nation to be called Eelam.

It said six members of the security forces were killed and a few others were injured. The statement did not give further details.

Unofficial but reliable sources said five soldiers were killed outright and three died at a hospital.

They said separatists planted a bomb in an old van parked by the roadside and exploded it by remote control to ambush a military convoy on the highway near the village of Mulankavil, 63 kilometres south of Jaffna.

Brazil's ruling party picks candidate in first open race

BRASILIA, Brazil (AP) - Paulo Salfim Maluf, the son of a Lebanese immigrant, won the government party's presidential nomination on Saturday night at the first disputed political convention in two decades of military rule.

"The biggest victory is for our leader, President Joao Figueiredo," because the convention completed "his promise to turn this nation into a democracy," Maluf said during his acceptance speech.

Maluf received 493 votes, and his opponent, Interior Minister Mario Andreazza, got 350 after the day-long balloting was hand counted in the packed convention hall.

The Social Democratic Party victor will compete for the presidency on January 15 against opposition party candidate Tancredino Neves, whose Brazilian Democratic Movement Party formalized his challenge last night. An electoral college will make the decision about who succeeds Figueiredo.

Maluf, frequently interrupted by applause and cheers, said he would fight against hunger, poverty and illness in Latin America's largest country.

The 52-year-old federal congressman and former Sao Paulo state

governor has been praised and criticized for what has been viewed as a single-minded ambition.

Maluf, independently wealthy from a family wood-processing business, has attracted friends - and foes - with his free flow of cash, presents and brash manner that has taken him to public ribbon cuttings and inaugurations all over Brazil.

"Some people love him, others hate him, but no one is neutral about Paulo Maluf," said a political analyst.

The candidate has not confined himself to Brazil. While in public office he has travelled to Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Canada, Central America and the U.S., where he was received by Secretary of State George Shultz.

Tancredino has long been a proponent of "direct elections now," Maluf, in his acceptance speech on Saturday, proposed direct balloting but did not say when.

Neves recently received the support of a group of about 60 government party dissidents, who are led by Vice-President Aureliano Chaves. The group, known as the Liberal Front, could override the government's 35-seat majority in the electoral college if they remain united.

Anti-Marcos march stopped by tear gas in Manila centre

MANILA (AP) - Hundreds of riot policemen armed with tear gas, firehoses, clubs and guns attacked 2,000 people sitting in a Manila street yesterday after they were prevented from marching to a planned anti-government rally.

The marchers were protesting against the 19-year-old rule President Ferdinand Marcos and the violent repression of previous demonstrations.

Sixteen persons were taken away in a military jeep as explosions and several shots rang out. General Ruben Esgarha said they would be interrogated.

Several persons, including two photographers, were injured. Some

were hit by stones thrown by the demonstrators who held back policemen for several seconds before tear gas was thrown.

The police first showered the sitting protesters for several minutes with firehoses, but they continued chanting "Fascist, Fascist" as their leaders stood with arms linked in front of the crowd. The police then charged, pushing the leaders back with the tips of truncheons and hitting several of the sitting demonstrators.

Some protesters retaliated by throwing stones from a construction site, holding back the police before the streets were cleared by exploding tear gas canisters.

Sikh religious split signals renewed crisis for Punjab

NEW DELHI (Reuters) - India's Sikh problem headed for a new crisis yesterday with a widening split among religious groups; four extremists killed in police clashes, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi considering constitutional changes to keep control of Punjab State.

The rift among Sikh religious leaders erupted on Saturday during the biggest gathering of Sikhs in their holy city, Amritsar, since the army took control of Punjab two months ago.

The police said 75,000 people listened to speeches that signalled the start of a battle between religious factions backed by Gandhi and some traditional religious leaders for control of the religion.

The meeting was called by the Gandhi-backed Nihang sect to endorse repairs to the Sikh's holiest shrine, the Golden Temple, damaged in a June 6 army assault to flush out fundamentalist extremists.

Among the speakers was Gandhi's Minister for Parliamentary Affairs Bura Singh, a Sikh, who said every Sikh expected that the religious extremists responsible for allowing extremists to use Sikh shrines as hiding places should be flogged.

Ranged against the sect are the Sikh religion's five high priests, as well as a group managing all Sikh temples in Punjab and the main Sikh political party, the Akali Dal. They oppose repairs until the army withdraws from the temple.

The high priests have excommunicated Nihang leader Santa Singh and warned that people attending Saturday's meeting also would be excommunicated.

However, in a challenge to the high priests, the meeting adopted a resolution "excommunicating" Gurcharan Singh Tona, head of the temple management group which they held responsible for giving refuge to extremist leaders like Jarnail Singh Bhindranvalle.

Hundreds of troops guarded the meeting which was attended by Sikhs throughout India. It set off a wave of religious passion and 100,000 people filed through the Golden Temple, the largest number in a day since it was reopened after the army assault.

While Sikhs converged on Amritsar for the meeting, police and troops killed four extremists in two clashes on the city's outskirts.

Mugabe tightens grip on Zimbabwe

HARARE, Zimbabwe (AP) - Prime Minister Robert Mugabe yesterday strengthened his grip on both the government and the ruling party when he was re-elected unopposed as president of the Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front).

Mugabe's success was seen as a victory for moderates opposed to radicals who wanted political opposition banned immediately, and western diplomats applauded Mugabe's increased authority, saying he has good relations with their countries.

Mugabe, 60, captured the top political post in the land two days after 6,000 delegates to the second party congress in 21 years presented him with a blank cheque to introduce a one-party, Marxist-Leninist state to one of Africa's few western-style democracies.

Syrian soldier escapes, seeks asylum in Turkey

ISTANBUL (AP) - A young Syrian soldier has escaped to Turkey and sought asylum in the southeastern province of Sanliurfa, the semi-official Anatolia News Agency reported yesterday.

Mohammed Ebu Zeyd crossed the Turkish-Syrian border Saturday evening, turned himself in to security forces and asked for political asylum, Anatolia said.

The agency did not say why the Syrian chose to seek refuge in Turkey but added that his case was being investigated by Turkish authorities.

Bonn plays down Honecker visit

Genscher: Soviet blast won't halt peace bid

BONN (Reuters) - Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a target of the Soviet Union's latest verbal assault on the German Federal Republic, has said that Bonn would not be deflected from its goal of peace.

Genscher, speaking on West Berlin radio Saturday night, responded to an attack by the official Soviet news agency Tass accusing him of protecting "revanchists" who want to reunite Germany within its 1937 borders.

Genscher refused to speculate on the reasons for the Soviet campaign against "revanchism" and its attacks on the thaw in relations between East and West Germany.

"The foreign minister speaks for the whole government, and there are no differences of opinion about the validity of the Warsaw Treaty (which set the post-war borders)," he said.

Genscher said the treaties West Germany signed with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland in the early 1970s had contributed to stability in Europe, and the Bonn government was continuing this policy of peace.

His words were apparently intended to end speculation whether East German leader Erich Honecker, another object of recent anger from Moscow, would pay his first visit to the GFR as planned next month.

Genscher has said he expects the visit to go ahead but called for silence on the subject, and in the radio interview he was not questioned about it.

The Soviet press over the

weekend renewed its attacks on closer links between East Berlin and Bonn in what western diplomats saw as a move to increase pressure on Honecker to moderate his detente policies.

"This appears to be a new warning to Honecker of the Kremlin's irritation with his failure to respond to past attacks. It looks as if Moscow is building up pressure on him to change course," one diplomat said.

A leading Moscow daily directly attacked last month's credit deal between East and West Germany, saying that Chancellor Helmut Kohl himself had made clear that Bonn had gained "political returns" from East Berlin in return for cash.

The Communist Party daily Pravda last month carried two strong attacks on Honecker's commitment to improving East-West relations. Diplomats believed that one Soviet aim appeared to be to force Honecker to call off the visit.

East Berlin has so far shrugged off the Soviet onslaught and commented

UK miners accused of massive violence

LONDON (AP) - Home Secretary Leon Brittan accused miners, leaders Saturday night of allowing violence on a massive scale in the 22-week-old coal strike and running away from a national strike ballot "as if it were a contagious disease."

Arthur Scargill, the militant left-wing leader of the 183,000 member National Union of Mineworkers, again blamed Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government and police for the violence.

"I am not prepared to condemn the magnificent young men and women who have been on our picket lines and whose only crime is to fight for the right to work," Scargill told a rally of miners' wives in London.

In one of the governments' most scathing attacks on the miners' leaders, Brittan told a meeting in Arbroath, Scotland, that they had abandoned democracy, turned to intimidation of working miners, and, when that also failed, embarked on a campaign of damaging property.

Canberra won't reduce contingent in Cyprus

CANBERRA, Australia (AP) - Prime Minister Bob Hawke announced yesterday Australia will not reduce its police contingent serving with the UN in Cyprus.

Hawke said the Australian Federal Police contingent to the UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus would be maintained at its present strength of 20. Officials said last week the force would be halved because of manpower problems.

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Saving Israel from itself

THE Reagan administration is proposing to restructure American aid to Israel, by making it multi-annual, according to reports from Washington.

Such restructuring would avoid the need to negotiate yearly with the U.S. Congress. A second important element in these proposals is a consolidation of Israel's debt to the U.S. government. A first step in this direction was already taken by giving Israel, this year, the entire \$2.6 billion of aid as an outright grant.

These proposals no doubt reflect America's genuine and lasting commitment to support Israel. At the same time, they testify to the deep concern over Israel's economic future that is felt in Washington—apparently much more acutely than it is felt in Jerusalem. If Washington takes the unprecedented step of offering not only to bail Israel out, but to provide long-term commitments, this means that the U.S. administration, which is better informed on how we really fare in our foreign payments position than is the Israeli public, including its elected representatives, then we must be in much deeper trouble than is realized.

The American proposals mean that in Washington's judgment we are on the verge—and possibly already beyond it—of no longer being able to rely on the commercial banks abroad for the credit lines to which we have been accustomed for many years. Those credit lines, it seems, are in danger of becoming conditional on the flow of American aid, and not, as before, on our own performance in foreign trade and the creditworthiness based on it. If Israel has already been borrowing against the American aid grants of the next quarter, as Bank of Israel Governor Moshe Mandelbaum said, then our economy is in the most perilous state it has experienced for three decades.

Viewed against this sombre background, the American proposals must be considered not only an expression of friendship and commitment which every Israeli will welcome with gratitude; they are also a stern warning.

The U.S. is not likely to restructure its aid to Israel in the unprecedented form now proposed—and which will have to obtain bi-partisan approval in the U.S. Congress—without exacting a price for its help. The U.S. administration is plainly out to save Israel from itself.

Presumably it will insist that Israel come up with more than a motley set of economic emergency measures that are constantly turned around 180 degrees with every change of finance ministers. The U.S. will want a comprehensive and consistent economic programme for a duration at least equivalent to the period for which American aid is to be programmed.

Nor is this all. A multi-annual aid package also means that we shall not be able to come to the U.S. with special requests that exceed that framework, except in circumstances, such as a war for which we cannot be blamed. It will certainly be impossible to present Washington with a request for \$5b., as our policy-makers reportedly mean to do, just because the government of a still semi-industrialized country of 4 million people has been squandering its limited resources on pursuing dreams of messianic and imperial grandeur—and has, in addition, fostered consumption to rise way beyond our increase in output.

If Washington intends to go ahead with its plans, Israel should be grateful on two counts: first, for American willingness to throw us a lifeline, and second, for the subtle pressure it implies to put our house in order.

That Israel, nearly four decades after independence, and after having stood out for many years among the newly-formed states of the post-World War II era as having used foreign aid productively, should now need such a lifeline and be, moreover, reduced to welcoming a foreign effort to force us to come to our senses, should fill us with deep shame.

The irony, of course, is that we should reach such a low point precisely under a regime which bombarded the country with slogans of self-pride. Unfortunately, the lesson still remains to be learned.

HEBRON CARAVANS

(Continued from Page One)

establish many settlements but had implemented little. A paper presented by the Likud's co-chairman of the WZO's Settlement Department on July 15 said that during the previous three years the committee had decided to establish 65 settlements, but only 36 had in fact been established. Nineteen were under construction and progress on the remaining 10 was halted due to budgetary constraints, the report said.

Ne'eman said that his committee had decided on the establishment of more than 70 settlements and only two or three have yet to be populated.

Earlier, at the cabinet meeting yesterday, the establishment of a Jewish compound of four caravans established last Wednesday in Hebron evoked some surprise and curiosity.

However, explanations by Ne'eman soon smoothed the ripples.

Interior Minister Yosef Burg brought the topic up when he asked why he had not been informed about the plan to set up the compound.

Ne'eman replied that the compound could not be called a settlement and not even an urban quarter since it involved building only a few houses or perhaps one apartment block eventually.

He said that a special briefing of the cabinet had not been called for, since the operation involved reoccupying Jewish plots of land. He added that the caravans had been held in readiness for many weeks because the Justice Ministry needed to check some final ownership details.

When Industry and Trade Minister Gideon Patt asked what about the ratio of settlers to guards, Ne'eman replied that events like Saturday's demonstration by the Citizens' Rights Movement made it necessary to protect the settlers.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens and Minister without Portfolio Ariel

Sharon joined Ne'eman in saying there was no call on the part of ministers to pass resolutions on the caravan-compound operation.

Sharon said that the first kibbutz, Degania, had only eight or nine settlers when it was founded, but this did not prevent Degania from being a milestone in the settlement of Eretz Yisrael. Numbers were not important, Sharon said.

The brief discussion then veered over to the CRM demonstration, which Arens said—in reply to a question—had not been licensed.

Several ministers also expressed anger at Israel Television for describing the demonstrators as "better-quality" people, when it explained why the security forces did not chase them away or arrest them.

Also at the cabinet session, Israel Defence Forces intelligence chief Aluf Ehud Barak gave a classified briefing.

During the part of this briefing that touched on the Lebanese situation, Arens said reports about IDF plans to leave South Lebanon within two months were "incorrect and distorted."

Both Arens, and later deputy Cabinet Secretary Michae Nir talking to reporters, criticized Kol Yisrael on this score.

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Democracy with a vengeance

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN

PRESIDENT HERZOG this afternoon will open the inaugural session of the Eleventh Knesset, in which no fewer than 15 lists will be represented; ten lists were represented in the previous Knesset.

Almost one fourth of the members—29 to be exact—are newcomers, and six others served in one or more previous Knessets but not in the Tenth: Yitzhak Navon, Chaika Grossman, Ezer Weizman, Avner Sciaky, Zaidan Atshe, and Avraham Verdiger.

The new members surely include half a dozen who have made names for themselves in other walks of life and who bring with them a variety of experience and expertise that could well raise the level of the Knesset. There is at least this ray of sunlight in an otherwise cloudy sky.

There is Professor David Libai, president of the Israel Bar Association; Simcha Dinitz, former ambassador to Washington; Uriel Linn, former internal revenue commissioner and more recently director-general of the Energy Ministry; Gideon Gadot, former Mifal Hapais chairman; and Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, former coordinator of activities in the territories. And this does not exhaust the list of potential stars among the newcomers.

The decision to postpone the election of the Speaker of the Knesset and of the House's standing committees until a new government is formed will "practically paralyze" the work of the Knesset, according to Knesset Clerk Samuel Jacobson.

As a stopgap, the parties have appointed two temporary committees, one on finance and another on foreign affairs and defence. I think a third committee is urgently needed to consider proposals for electoral reform—and not just because of Meir Kahane's election to the Knesset.

ONE MUST go back to the Second Knesset, elected on July 30, 1951, to find another Knesset in which 15 lists were represented.

In a parliament of 120, that is democracy with a vengeance, as even Lova Eliav's enthusiasts may be willing to concede once their disappointment abates.

Except for the leaders of one-issue lists like the Tenants Protection League and the Movement for the Abolition of Income Tax, can anyone seriously argue that any group that can muster 20,000 votes is enti-

tled—in the name of democracy—to a seat in parliament?

Lovers like Yigael Hurwitz undoubtedly add spice to the Knesset, and this writer came close to voting for him. But is it worth retaining the 1 per cent threshold when for every Hurwitz we must also take a Kahane and an Abi-Hatzeira?

But the issue goes deeper than how we feel about the particular candidates who have benefited from the low threshold in one election or another. The basic problem is the inordinate bargaining—or extortion—power the small factions enjoy under the present system.

If we adopted the presidential system in one form or another—as we have done, in effect, for the election of our mayors—it would be a different ball game. But when a tiny faction is able to make mincemeat out of the platform of the party forming the coalition it is time to change the rules.

DR. YOSEF BURG agreed on Monday last Wednesday evening that the threshold should be raised. To 3 per cent? No, that he was not prepared to say.

No one can demand of a political party that it commit suicide. In deciding what higher threshold to support, Burg will first calculate how this is likely to affect his own party—and Shulamit Aloni and Haim Druckman will make the same reckoning.

But what about the Likud and the Alignment? They once found it possible to ignore the protests and threats of the smaller parties for a much less noble cause: the Bader-Ofar Law, which loaded the dice in their favour when it came to distributing the surplus votes.

Professor Bernard Wasserstein, in an article that appeared in *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday, made some cogent arguments against the British single-member constituency system.

But he makes the undocumented statement that "over the past 35 years, a 3 per cent barrier (i.e. threshold) would have yielded Knessets very similar in composition to those produced by the existing system." The Tami experience in the Tenth Knesset should be enough to puncture that generalization.

TAMI POLLED 2.3 per cent of the vote in 1981, but the three seats it won under the 1 per cent threshold enabled it to dictate social policy to

the Likud, to publicize phony "poverty-line" statistics—and made it possible for the Alignment to force early elections.

In the July 23 elections, nine lists that hurdled the 1 per cent barrier polled less than 3 per cent of the vote. They range from Kahane and Hurwitz, with 1.2 per cent each, to Shinui with 2.6 per cent. In between (on a rising curve) are Tami, Morasha, Agudat Yisrael, the Progressive List for Peace, Weizman, and Shulamit Aloni.

This does not mean, of course, that if a 3 per cent threshold had been in force there would be only six lists represented in the Eleventh Knesset.

Aware of the danger that they would not clear so high a threshold, Morasha would undoubtedly have joined forces with the NRP, and Aloni with Shinui; maybe even some other, less obvious combinations, would have emerged. The result would be, say, a Knesset with seven or eight factions.

"So what would we have gained?" advocates of full-fledged electoral reform will ask. "Maybe eight factions is better than 15, but if we're changing the system after 35 years why not go all the way?"

One answer is that the threshold could be raised even to 4 per cent. On the one-dimensional level, that would have knocked out Shas, the Communists, and the NRP. But, again, pre-election combinations would prevent some of these "disasters." The combined Shinui-Aloni vote was 5.0 per cent, and the combined NRP-Morasha vote 5.1 per cent.

Of all the small parties, only Tehiya polled 4 per cent of the vote: 4.0 per cent is the figure published in the press, which could also mean 3.97 per cent, I suppose.

Beyond that answer, I confess, is only the subjective feeling that doing away with the single, nation-wide list system of proportional representation would be misunderstood by large sections of the public as a devious trick of the two big parties. Naturally, the small parties would promote that line.

This was one of the arguments used by Wasserstein. It is noteworthy, though, that for the most part he tilts at the windmill of the single-member constituency, and how unfair this can be to the runner-up, for example, the Liberal Party in Britain. This, however, is not the sys-

Dry Bones



tem proposed by electoral reform advocates in Israel.

He does mention, in very general terms, the combination espoused by a good many MKs, from different parties, headed by the Alignment's Gad Ya'acobi. In the standard version, this calls for dividing up the country into 16 districts, each of which would elect five MKs, with the remaining 40 MKs elected by proportional representation on national lists.

Wasserstein dismisses this idea, without attempting to grapple with it at all. It contains "many of the disadvantages already noted" for the single-member constituency, and it is "too complex for many citizens to understand." And that's it.

Martyn Benn, whose article appeared yesterday under Wasserstein's name, proposes the system used in the Irish Republic and advocated by the Electoral Reform Society in Britain. Here there is no national list at all. The country is divided into multi-membered constituencies, e.g. 20 throughout Israel, each electing six MKs.

But instead of the voter voting for the full number of candidates to be elected (five under the Ya'acobi plan), he has a single transferable vote (STV). Known as the Hare System of Proportional Representation, it is designed to avoid wasted votes.

Citizen Pioni marks the figure "1" next to the name of his favourite

candidate, "2" next to the name of his second choice, and so forth.

His vote can only be credited to one candidate, but it is transferred from Pioni's first choice to his second, and third, etc., if his earlier choices have either reached the quota required for election without his vote, or if they have done so poorly that even his vote cannot help them.

If a substantial number of MKs think that raising the 1 per cent threshold does not go far enough, by all means let the committee that I have proposed deal with the more fundamental aspects of electoral reform. Let it also discuss the merits of the presidential system for electing the prime minister.

But that is likely to bog them down in such lengthy debates that they will still be arguing when the next elections are upon us. True, the small parties will fight tooth and nail even against the raising of the 1 per cent threshold. But if the Alignment and the Likud put up a united front on this, this is something that could be achieved in short order.

And if their respective satellites refuse to join an Alignment or Likud-led unity government unless the threshold is not touched, the two big blocs should form a unity government consisting of just the two of them. After all, together they do have 85 votes.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.

READERS' LETTERS

SOW THE WIND

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*
 Sir—Much has been written in the Israeli and world press about the election of Rabbi Meir Kahane to the Knesset. But strangely enough, the most evident reason for his election has not been stated.

Obviously, it is regrettable that such a type of legislator should be elected to any parliament. It is uncivilized to propose legislation to expel all the Arabs from Israel and Judea-Samaria. It is ugly to have one's followers parade through the streets of Jerusalem shouting "death to the Arabs!" But it is quite understandable why 22,000 Israelis voted for Kahane. In fact, it is difficult to understand why more Israelis did not vote the same way.

The 22,000 were motivated by the following facts: For many years, Arab extremists have advocated a policy of expelling the Jews from Israel. For several decades, Arab mobs have filled the streets of Arab

capitals shouting "death to the Jews!" and occasionally implementing their threats. Yasser Arafat, the leader of the PLO, whose charter advocates the expulsion of the Jews from Israel, is received by the Pope and by heads of states, and his Palestinian terror organization is officially recognized not only in the Arab world, in the Soviet empire and in the third world, but by most of the Western democracies.

Could we really expect that no Israeli would ever rise to tell the Israelis and the world that it is immoral to let the enemies of liberty enjoy liberty, and the murderers the right to kill?

The PLO has sown the wind and is now reaping its harvest. The murderers have produced Rabbi Kahane.

PAUL GINIEWSKI
 Paris.

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*
 Sir—The problem of the dental health of the children of Kiryat Malachi, raised by volunteer dentist Dr. Spivak (August 3), is a reminder to all in Israel that the situation is very different in every town, including Tel Aviv.

Haviva Avigai, a member of the Tel Aviv Council, recently reported that she hoped to revive dental care for schoolchildren, a service which has been virtually eliminated.

Perhaps the area where most children have received dental treatment is Ashkelon. The Joint Israel Appeal Dental Committee have been sending volunteer dentists since January 1980, and Oral Hygiene Centre, the first in Israel, was opened in 1982. In spite of all the treatment given and the presence of fluoride naturally in

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 water, we have found that we need an intensification of our oral hygiene programme in order to improve our success rate.

The programme needs to be copied by every municipality in Israel. To be effective, this will require the cooperation of the press, radio and TV, which should devote more time to giving parents and children the message that "a clean mouth and low sugar consumption prevent tooth decay."

The Ministry of Health should encourage the addition of fluoride to the water in areas where it does not occur naturally. Toothpaste and toothbrush manufacturers and suppliers should provide free literature and other educational material for schools, as is done in the UK, USA

and Canada. The municipalities should provide a budget for oral hygiene programmes in schools, nurseries, pre- and post-natal clinics, and it should be given by nurses, teachers and hygienists.

It has been shown in the USA, Canada and Europe that an effective oral hygiene programme can reduce decay and gum disease by over 50 per cent, to a level where the dentists are short of work. The cost to the nation of not carrying out such a programme, in terms of finance, pain and suffering, is enormous. Let us all pool our resources to ensure that present and future generations of children will have healthy mouths.

Dr. GERALD FEINGOLD
 Chairman, UK Dental Committee.
 Ashkelon (Manchester).

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